THE LIFE OF *William Bedell*, D.D. BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.

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THE

PREFACE.

THe Conteſts that have been raiſed in this Age concerning the lawfulneſs and the uſefulneſs of the Epiſcopal Government, have engaged ſo many learned Men to treat that Argument ſo fully, that as there is very little excuſe left for the Ignorance or obſtinacy of thoſe who ſtill ſtand out againſt the Evidence of a Cauſe made out ſo clearly, ſo there is ſcarce any thing left to be ſaid by any, whoſe zeal may ſet him on to

handle a matter that ſeems to be now exhauſted. There is one ſort of Arguments yet remaining, that as they are more within every ones compaſs to apprehend and apply, ſo they have a greater force on Mens affections, which commonly give a biaſs to their underſtandings. For conviction has an eaſie acceſs to us when we are already inclined to wiſh that were true, concerning which we imploy our enquiries: And in practical matters, ſuch as Government, Arguments fetched from great Patterns do not only prepare us to think well of ſuch Forms, but really give us truer and juſter Ideas of them than ſpeculative Diſcourſes can raiſe in us; which work but coldly on perſons unconcerned. An Argument not foreign to this, is uſed by all the Aſſertors of Epiſco-

Epiſcopacy, in which the force of the reaſoning is equal to the truth of the aſſertion; Which is, that it is not poſſible to think that a Government can be criminal, under which the World received the Chriſtian Religion, and that in a courſe of many Ages, in which as all the corners of the Chriſtian Church, ſo all the parts of it, the ſound as well as the unſound, that is the Orthodox as well as the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, agreed: the perſecutions that lay then ſo heavy on the Church made it no deſireable thing for a Man to be expoſed to their firſt fury, which was always the Biſhops portion; and that in a courſe of many Centuries, in which there was nothing but Poverty and labour to be got by the Imployment: There being no Princes to ſet it

on as an Engine of Government, and no Synods of Clergymen gathered to aſſume that Authority to themſelves by joynt deſigns and endeavours. And can it be imagined that in all that glorious Cloud of Witneſſes to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, who as they planted it with their Labours, ſo watered it with their Blood, there ſhould not ſo much as one ſingle perſon be found, on whom either a love to truth, or an envy at the advancement of others prevailed ſo far as to declare againſt ſuch an early and univerſal corruption (if it is to be eſteemed one.) When all this is complicated together, it is really of ſo great Authority, that I love not to give the proper name to that temper that can withſtand ſo plain a demonſtration. For what

what can a Man, even heated with all the force of imagination, and poſſeſſed with all the ſharpneſs of prejudice, except to the inference made from theſe Premiſſes, that a Form ſo ſoon introduced, and ſo wonderfully bleſt, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Goſpel: and cannot be aſcribed to any other Original, but that the Apoſtles every where eſtabliſhed it, as the Fence about the Goſpel which they planted, ſo that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned Twins born at the ſame time, and both derived from the ſame Fathers.

But things ſo remote require more than ordinary knowledg to ſet them before us in a true light: And their diſtance from us makes them

them leſſen as much to our thoughts, as Objects that are far from us do to our Eyes. Therefore it will be perhaps neceſſary in order to the giving a fuller and amiabler proſpect of that Apoſtolical Conſtitution, to chuſe a Scene that lies nearer, and more within all peoples view; that ſo it may appear, that for the living Arguments in favour of this Government we need not go ſo far as to the *Clement's*, the *Ignatius's*, the *Polycarp's*, the *Ireneus's*, the *Denys's* and the *Cyprian's* that were the glories of the Golden Ages: Nor to the *Athanaſius's*, the *Baſil's*, the *Gregorie's*, the *Chryſoſtome's*, the *Martin's*, the *Ambroſe's* and the *Auſtin's*, that were the beauties of the Second but Silver Age of Chriſtianity; but that even in this Iron Age, and dreg of time, there have been ſuch Patterns, as perhaps

haps can hardly be matched ſince Miracles ceaſed.

We ought not to deny the Church of *Rome* the juſt Praiſes that belong to ſome of the Biſhops ſhe has produced in this and the laſt Age, who were burning and ſhining Lights: and we ought not to wonder if a Church ſo blemiſht all over with the corruptions of her Clergy, and in particular of the Heads of them, covers her ſelf from thoſe deſerved Reproaches by the brightneſs of ſuch great names; and by the exemplary Vertues of the preſent Pope, which being ſo unuſual a thing, it is not ſtrange to ſee them magnifie and celebrate it as they do. *France* has likewiſe produced in this Age a great many Biſhops, of whom it muſt be ſaid, That as the

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World was not worthy of them ſo that Church, that uſed them ſo ill, was much leſs worthy of them. And though there are not many of that ſtamp now left, yet Cardinal *Grimaldy* *, the Biſhop of *Angiers*, and the Biſhop of *Grenoble*, may ſerve to dignifie an Age, as well as a Nation. The Biſhop of *Aulet* was, as, a great and good Man told me, like a living and ſpeaking Goſpel.

* Who is dead ſince this was firſt written.

It is true their intanglements with the See of *Rome* and the Court of *France*, were things both uneaſie and dangerous to them; but I love not to point at their blind Sides, it is their fair one that I would ſet out: and if we can bear the higheſt commendations that can be given to the

the Vertues of Heathen Philoſophers, even when they do eclipſe the reputation of the greater part of Chriſtians; it will be unjuſt for any to be uneaſie at the Praiſes given to Prelates of another Communion, who are to be ſo much the more admired, if notwithſtanding all the corruptions that lye ſo thick about them, that they could hardly break through them, they have ſet the World ſuch examples as ought indeed to make others aſhamed that have much greater advantages. But ſince the giving of Orders is almoſt the only part of their function, that is yet entirely in their Hands, they have indeed brought a regulation into that which was ſo groſly abuſed in former times, that cannot be enough commended, nor too much imitated; they have built and endowed Seminaries

ries for their Dioceſſes, in which a competent number of young Eccleſiaſticks are bred at Studies and Exerciſes ſuitable to that Profeſſion, to which they are to be dedicated; and as they find them well prepared, they are, by the ſeveral ſteps and degrees of the Pontifical, led up to the Altar, and kept there till Benefices fall, and ſo they are removed from thence, as from a Nurſery, into the ſeveral parts of the Dioceſſes. By this means the Secular Clergy of *France* have in a great meaſure recovered their reputation, and begin now to bear down the Regulars, whoſe Credit and Wealth had riſen chiefly by the Ignorance and Scandals of the Curates. In this the preſent Archbiſhop of *Rheims* has ſet a pattern to the reſt, ſuitable to the high Rank he holds in

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that Church, for he has raiſed a Seminary that coſt him Fifty thouſand Crowns a building, and above Five thouſand Crowns a Year in ſupporting the expence of it: in which there are about One hundred Eccleſiaſticks maintained; and out of theſe he Ordains every Year ſuch a number as the extent of his Dioceſs does require: And with theſe he ſupplies the Vacancies that fall. This is a way of imploying the Revenues of the Church, that is exactly ſuitable to the ſenſe of the Primitive times, in which a Biſhop was not conſidered as the Proprietor, but only as the Adminiſtrator and Diſpencer of the Revenue belonging to his See: And there is ſcarce any one thing concerning which the Synods in thoſe Ages took more care than to diſtinguiſh between the Goods

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and Eſtate that belonged to a Biſhop by any other Title, and thoſe that he had acquired during his Epiſcopat: for though he might diſpoſe of the one, the other was to fall to the Church.

But now to return to the Subject that led me into this digreſſion, there is nothing that can have a ſtronger operation to overcome all prejudices againſt Epiſcopacy, than the propoſing eminent Patterns, whoſe Lives continue to ſpeak ſtill, though they are dead: Of which my native Country has produced, both in the laſt and in the preſent Age, ſome great and rare Inſtances, of which very eminent effects appeared, even amidſt all that rage of furious Zeal, into which that Nation was tranſ-

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ported againſt it: And I ſuppoſe the Reader will not be ill pleaſed if I make a ſecond digreſſion to entertain him with ſome paſſages concerning them, but will bear with it perhaps better than with the former.

And ſince my Education and the courſe of my Life has led me moſt to know the Affairs of *Scotland*, I will not enter upon a Province that is Foreign to me, and therefore ſhall leave to others the giving an account of the great Glories of the Church of *England*, and will content my ſelf with telling ſome more eminent things of ſome of our Scottiſh Biſhops: In which I will ſay nothing upon flying Reports, but upon very credible, if not certain Information. There was one *Patrick Forbes* of *Aberdeenſhire*,

a Gentleman of Quality and Eſtate, but much more eminent by his Learning and Piety, than his Birth or Fortune could make him. He had a moſt terrible Calamity on him in his Family, which needs not be named: I do not know whether that or a more early principle determined him to enter into Orders: He undertook the labour of a private Cure in the Country, upon the moſt earneſt invitations of his Biſhop, when he was Forty Eight Years old, and diſcharged his Duty there ſo worthily, that within a few Years he was promoted to be Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; in which See he ſat about Seventeen Years. It was not eaſie for King *James* to perſwade him to accept of that Dignity, and many Months paſt before he could be induced to it, for he had intended

tended to have lived and dyed, in a more obſcure corner. It ſoon appeared how well he deſerved his Promotion, and that his unwillingneſs to it was not feigned, but the real effect of his humility: He was in all things an Apoſtolical Man, he uſed to go round his Dioceſs without noiſe, and but with one Servant, that ſo he might be rightly informed of all matters. When he heard reports of the weakneſs of any of his Clergy, his cuſtome was to go and lodge unknown near their Church on the *Saturday* Night, and next day, when the Miniſter was got into the Pulpit, he would come to Church, that ſo he might obſerve what his ordinary Sermons were, and accordingly he admoniſhed or encouraged them. He took

ſuch care of the two Colledges in his Dioceſs, that they became quickly diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of *Scotland*: So that when the troubles in that Church broke out, the Doctors there were the only perſons that could maintain the Cauſe of the Church; as appears by the Papers that paſt between them and the Covenanters. And though they begun firſt to manage that Argument in Print, there has nothing appeared ſince more perfect than what they writ. They were an honour to the Church both by their Lives, and by their Learning, and with that excellent temper they ſeaſoned that whole Dioceſs, both Clergy and Laity, that it continues to this day very much diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of *Scotland*, both for

for Learning, Loyalty and Peaceableneſs; and, ſince that good Biſhop died but three years before the Rebellion broke out, the true ſource of that advantage they had, is juſtly due to his Memory: One of theſe Doctors was his Son *John*, the Heir of his Vertues and Piety, as well as of his Fortune: But much ſuperiour to him in Learning; and he was perhaps inferior to no Man of his Age, which none will diſpute, that have read his *Inſtructiones Hiſtorico-Theologicæ*, a Work which if he had finiſhed it, and had been ſuffered to enjoy the privacies of his Retirement and Study, to give us the Second Volume, had been the greateſt Treaſure of Theological Learning that perhaps the World has yet ſeen. He was Divinity

Profeſſor at *Aberdeen*, an endowment raiſed by his Father: But was driven out by the Covenant, and forced to fly beyond Sea. One memorable thing of his Father ought not to be left unmentioned; he had Synods twice a year of his Clergy, and before they went upon their other buſineſs, he always began with a ſhort diſcourſe, excuſing his own infirmities and charging them that, if they knew or obſerved any thing amiſs in him, they would uſe all freedom with him, and either come and warn him in ſecret of ſecret errours, or if they were publick, that they would ſpeak of them there in publick; and upon that he withdrew to leave them to the freedom of Speech. This condeſcenſion of his was never abuſed but by one petulant

tulant Man, to whom all others were very ſevere for his inſolence, only the Biſhop bore it gently and as became him.

One of the Doctors of *Aberdeen* bred in his time and of his name *William Forbes*, was promoted by the late King, while he was in *Scotland* in the Year one thouſand ſix hundred thirty and three, to the Biſhoprick of *Edenburgh*, that was then founded by him, ſo that that glorious King ſaid on good grounds, that he had found out a Biſhop that deſerved that a See ſhould be made for him; he was a grave and eminent Divine; my Father, that knew him long, and being of Council for him in his Law-matters, had occaſion to know

him well, has often told me, That he never ſaw him but he thought his Heart was in Heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himſelf a Commentary on theſe Words of the Apoſtles, *Did not our Hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures?* He preached with a zeal and vehemence, that made him often forget all the meaſures of time, two or three Hours was no extraordinary thing for him; thoſe Sermons waſted his Strength ſo faſt, and his aſcetical courſe of life was ſuch, that he ſupplyed it ſo ſcantly that he dyed within a Year after his Promotion; ſo he only appeared there long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what might have been otherwiſe

wiſe expected from ſo great a Prelate. That little remnant of his that is in Print ſhews how Learned he was. I do not deny but his earneſt deſire of a general Peace and Union among all Chriſtians has made him too favourable to many of the Corruptions in the Church of *Rome*: but tho' a Charity that is not well ballanced, may carry one to very indiſcreet things; yet the Principle from whence they flowed in him was ſo truly good, that the errors to which it carried him ought to be either excuſed, or at leaſt to be very gently cenſured.

Another of our late Biſhops was the nobleſt born of all the Order, being Brother to the Lord *Boid*, that is one of the beſt Families of *Scotland*, but was provided to the pooreſt Biſhoprick, which was *Argile*; yet he did great things in it. He found

found his Dioceſs overrun with ignorance and barbarity, ſo that in many places the name of Chriſt was not known; but he went about that Apoſtolical Work of planting the Goſpel, with a particular induſtry, and almoſt with equal ſucceſs. He got Churches and Schools to be raiſed and endowed every where; and lived to ſee a great bleſſing on his endeavours; ſo that he is not ſo much as named in that Country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by thoſe who are otherwiſe no way equitable to that Order. The only anſwer that our angry people in *Scotland* uſed to make when they were preſſed with ſuch Inſtances, was, that there were too few of them: But ſome of the ſevereſt of them have owned to me, that if there were many ſuch Biſhops, they would all be Epiſcopal.

I ſhall not add much of the Biſhops that have been in that Church ſince the laſt re-eſtabliſhing of the Order, but that I have obſerved among the few of them, to whom I had the honour to be known particularly, as great, and as exemplary things, as ever I met with in all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: Not only the practice of the ſtricteſt of all the Antient Canons, but a pitch of Vertue and Piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the meaſure of even the moſt Angelical rank of Men; and ſaw things in them that would look liker fair Ideas, than what Men cloathed with Fleſh and Blood could grow up to. But of this I will ſay no more, ſince thoſe that are concerned are yet alive, and their Character is too ſingular, not to make them to be as eaſily known,

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if I enlarged upon it, as if I named them.

The worthy perſon here meant, is dead ſince this was put in the Preſs; but both his Name and a more particular account of him, as it well deſerves a Book by it ſelf, ſo will perhaps be given on another occaſion.

But of one that is dead I may be allowed to ſay ſomewhat; with whom the See of *Aberdeen* was as happy in this Age, as it was in his worthy Predeceſſor *Forbes* in the laſt; both in the number of the Years, for he ſat ſeventeen Years in that Chair, and in the rare qualities that dignified them both almoſt equally. He alſo ſaw his Son fill the Divinity Chair, as the other had done; but here was the fatal difference, that he only lived long enough to raiſe the greateſt expectation that I ever knew upon any of that Nation of his ſtanding; for when all hoped to ſe in him a ſecond Dr. *Forbes*, or, to bring it nearer home, another Biſhop *Scougall*, for that

that was his Fathers name, he dyed very young. The endearing gentleneſs of the Father to all that differed from him, his great ſtrictneſs in giving Orders, his moſt unaffected humility and contempt of the World, were things ſo ſingular in him, that they deſerved to be much more admired than his other Talents, which were alſo extraordinary, a wonderful ſtrength of Judgment, a dexterity in the conduct of Affairs, which he imployed chiefly in the making up of Differences, and a Diſcretion in his whole deportment. For he had a way of Familiarity, by which he gave every body all ſort of freedom with him, and in which at the ſame time he inſpired them with a veneration for him, and by that he gained ſo much on their affections, that he was conſidered as the common Father of his

his whole Dioceſs, and the Diſſenters themſelves ſeemed to eſteem him no leſs than the Conformiſts did. He took great pleaſure in diſcourſing often with young Divines, and ſet himſelf to frame in them right and generous Notions of the Chriſtian Religion, and of the Paſtoral Care; ſo that a Set of Men grew up under his Labors, that carry ſtill on them clear Characters of his ſpirit and temper.

One thing more I will add, which may afford a more general Inſtruction. Several years ago he obſerv'd a great heat in ſome young Minds, that, as he believed, had very good intentions, but were too forward, and complained much of abuſes, calling loudly, and not very decently, for a Reformation of them: upon which he told them, the noiſe made about reforming abuſes was the likelieſt

way

way to keep them up; for that would raiſe Heats and Diſputes, and would be aſcribed to envy and faction in them; and ill-minded Men, that loved the abuſes for the advantages they made by them, would blaſt and miſrepreſent thoſe that went about to correct them, by which they would fall under the jealouſie of being ill affected to the Church; and they being once loaded with this prejudice, would be diſabled from doing the good, of which they might otherwiſe be the Inſtruments: Therefore he thought a Reformation of Abuſes ought to be carried on by every one in his ſtation, with no other noiſe than what the things themſelves muſt neceſſarily produce, and then the ſilent way of conviction that is raiſed by great Patterns would ſpeak louder, and would recommend ſuch Practices more.

more ſtrongly, as well as more modeſtly. Diſcourſes work but upon ſpeculative people; and it has been ſo long the method of factious and ill deſigning Men, to accuſe publick Errors, that he wiſhed thoſe, to whom he addreſſed his advice, would give over all thoughts of mending the world, which was grown too old in wickedneſs to be eaſily corrected; and would only ſet themſelves to do what good they could, with leſs noiſe; and ſo to give leſs occaſion to angry people to quarrel with them; and to juſtifie thoſe abuſes which are by ſuch indiſcreet oppoſition kept in ſome credit, and preſerved; whereas without that they muſt have fallen under ſo general an *Odium*, that few could have the face to excuſe them.

And now I have done with this digreſſion; which not being at all foreign

foreign to my deſign of raiſing the credit due to that venerable Order. I ſhall make no Apology for it; but ſhall come next to the ſubject of the following Book. I had a great Collection of Memorials put in my hands by a worthy and learned Divine, Mr. *Clogy*, who as he lived long in this Biſhops Houſe, ſo being afterwards Miniſter at *Cavan*, had occaſion to know him well: And as he had a great zeal to ſee the Juſtice done to his Memory and the Service done to the World, which the putting theſe in order, and the publiſhing them muſt needs produce; ſo he judged it would come better from another hand than his, that was ſo much obliged by him, that it might be thought affection and gratitude had biaſſed him too much. I confeſs my part in this was ſo ſmall, that I can ſcarce aſ-

ſume any thing to my ſelf, but the copying out what was put in my hands. Lives muſt be written with the ſtrictneſs of a ſevere Hiſtorian, and not helped up with Rhetorick and Invention. But there are two great Imperfections that muſt be pardoned in this account: The one is, That there is ſo little ſaid of him gathered from any of his own Writings, which would raiſe his Character much higher than any thing that others, though of his moſt intimate Acquaintance, could preſerve in their Memories: The other is, That ſuch Journals as perhaps ſome that intended to give a full repreſentation of him to Poſterity, might have writ, were all loſt in the ſame common Shipwrack of the *Iriſh* Rebellion: In which though our Biſhops Works were ſwallowed up, yet he himſelf met with a moſt diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed Fate, more ſuitable to his own rare merit, than to the enraged fury of thoſe Cannibals. And it was ſo unlike their deportment in all other places, and to all other perſons, that it ought rather to be aſcribed to a tender and watchful Providence, and to be reckoned among its Miracles, than to any impreſſions that his worth made on thoſe Barbarians, who ſeemed to be as incapable of all the tenderneſſes of Humane Nature, and as regardleſs of Religion and Vertue, as Bears or Wolves are: Or if there was any difference, it lay in this, that the one are ſatiated with Blood and Prey, whereas theſe burnt with a thirſt of Blood that ſeemed unſatisfiable: And their cruel tempers being excited by their Prieſts, no wonder if they made havock of all that fell in their way: The greateſt Wonder

was, how one that had ſo juſt a title to the Rage of their Prieſts, ſhould have been ſo preſerved among them, when he fell into their Hands, and ſo honoured by them at his Death: By which it appeared that the ſame mighty Power that ſaved *Daniel*'s three Friends from the violence of the Fire, and himſelf from the rage of the Lions, is not yet exhauſted.

The Memorials here put in order, are nothing but what the memory of that good Man could afford, together with ſome few Remnants of the Biſhops own Pen, gathered up like Boards after a Shipwrack. But in them we may find all that is Great in a Man, in a Chriſtian, and in a Biſhop: And that in ſo eminent a manner, that if the fame of the perſon were not ſo great, and if the uſage he met with among

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the *Iriſh*, were not a Teſtimony beyond exception, I could ſcarce hope to be believed. I will give only a bare and ſimple Relation of his Life, and will avoid the beſtowing on him or his Actions ſuch Epithets and Praiſes as they deſerve: But will leave that to the Reader: For in writing of Lives all big Words are to be left to thoſe who dreſs up Legends, and *Make* Lives rather than Write them: the things themſelves muſt praiſe the Perſon, otherwiſe all the good Words that the Writer beſtows on him, will only ſhew his own great kindneſs to his Memory, but will not perſwade others: On the contrary it will incline them to ſuſpect his partiality, and make them look on him as an Author rather than a Writer.

Letters

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2. *A Letter of Biſhop* Bedells *upon his being invited to go over to* Ireland. p. 34.

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THE

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM BEDELL, D. D. Biſhop of KILMORE IN IRELAND.

WILLIAM BEDELL was born at *Black Notley* in *Eſſex*, in the year 1570. he was the younger Son of an ancient and good Family, and of no inconſiderable Eſtate, which has now deſcended to his Son (his elder Brother dying without Iſſue): After he had paſt through the common education at Schools, he was ſent to *Emmanuel* College in *Cambridge*, and put under Dr. *Chadderton*'s care, the famous and

long-liv'd Head of that Houſe; and here all thoſe extraordinary things, that rendred him afterwards ſo conſpicuous, began to ſhew themſelves in ſuch a manner, that he came to have a very eminent Character both for Learning and Piety: ſo that Appeals were oft made to him, as Differences or Controverſies aroſe in the Univerſity. He was put in Holy Orders by the Biſhop Suffragan of *Colcheſter*. Till I met with this paſſage, I did not think theſe Suffragans had been continued ſo long in *England*: How they came to be put down, I do not know; it is probable they did ordain all that deſired Orders, ſo promiſcuouſly, that the Biſhops found it neceſſary to let them fall. For complaints were made of this Suffragan, upon which he was threatned with the taking his Commiſſion from him: for though they could do nothing but by a Delegation from the Biſhop, yet the Orders they gave were ſtill valid, even when they tranſgreſſed in conferring them: Upon that the Suffragan ſaid a thing that was as inſolent in him, as it was honourable for Mr. *Bedell*, That he had ordained a better Man than any the Biſhop had ever ordained, namely *Bedell*. He was choſen Fellow of the

College

Colledge in 1593. and took his Degree of Batchelour of Divinity in the year 1599.

From the Univerſity he was removed to the Town of S. *Edmondsbury* in *Suffolk*, where he ſerved long in the Goſpel, and with great ſucceſs, he and his Colleague being of ſuch different characters, that whereas it was ſaid of him that he made the difficulteſt places of Scripture appear plain, it was ſaid, That his Colleague made the plaineſt places appear difficult; the opening of dark paſſages, and the comparing of many Texts of Scripture, together with a ſerious and practical application of them, being the chief ſubject of His Sermons: Which method ſeveral other great Men at that time followed, ſuch as Biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Jackſon*, and Mr. *Mede*. He had an occaſion given him not long after his ſettlement in this charge, to ſhew his courage, and how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of falling under the diſpleaſure of great Men: For when the Biſhop of *Norwich* propoſed ſome things to a meeting of his Clergy, with which they were generally diſſatisfied, though they had not reſolution enough to oppoſe them; He

took that hard Province upon himſelf, and did it with ſo much ſtrength of reaſon, as well as diſcretion, that many of thoſe things were let fall: upon which when his Brethren came and magnified him for it, he checkt them and ſaid, He deſired not the praiſes of Men. His reputation was ſo great and ſo well eſtabliſhed both in the Univerſity and in *Suffolk*, that when King *James* ſent Sir *Henry Wotton* to be his Ambaſſadour at *Venice*, at the time of the Interdict; he was recommended as the fitteſt Man to go Chaplain in ſo critical a conjuncture. This Imployment proved much happier and more honourable for him than that of his fellow Student and Chamber-fellow Mr. *Wadſworth*, who was at that time beneficed in the ſame Dioceſe with him, and was about that time ſent into *Spain*, and was afterwards appointed to teach the Infanta the *Engliſh* Tongue, when the match between the late King and her was believed concluded: for *Wadſworth* was prevailed on to change his Religion and abandon his Countrey, as if in them thoſe Words of our Saviour had been to be verified, *There ſhall be two in one Bed, the one ſhall be taken, and the other ſhall be left.* For as

as the one of theſe was wrought on to forſake his Religion, the other was very near the being an Inſtrument of a great and happy change in the Republick of *Venice*. I need not ſay much of a thing ſo well known as were the quarrels of Pope *Paul* the V. and that Republick; eſpecially ſince the Hiſtory of them is written ſo particularly by him that knew the matter beſt, *P. Paulo*. Some Laws made by the Senate, not unlike our Statutes of *Mortmain*, reſtraining the exceſſive Donations, extorted from ſuperſtitious Men, and the impriſoning two lewd Fryers, in order to the executing Juſtice on them, were the grounds of the quarrel; and upon thoſe pretences, the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity from the Secular Tribunals was aſſerted to ſuch a degree, that after that high ſpirited Pope had tryed what the ſpiritual Sword could do, but without ſucceſs, (his Interdict not being obſerved by any, but the *Jeſuites*, the *Capucins* and *Theatines*, who were upon that baniſhed the State, for the age of the *Anſelms* and the *Beckets* could not be now recalled) he reſolved to try the Temporal Sword next, according to the advice Cardinal *Baronius* gave him; who told him in the Conſiſtory, That

there were two things ſaid to S. *Peter*, the firſt was, *Feed my Sheep*, the other was, *Ariſe and kill*; and therefore ſince he had already executed the firſt part of S. *Peter*'s duty, *in feeding the Flock*, by Exhortations, Admonitions, and Cenſures, without the deſired effect, he had nothing left but to *ariſe and kill*: and that not being an Age in which Croiſades could paſs upon the World; and the Pope not finding any other Prince that would execute his Bulls, he reſolved to make War upon them himſelf, hoping to find aſſiſtance from the Crown of *Spain*, who, he believed, would be willing to enlarge their Dominions on that ſide: but when all help failed him, and he ſaw that his Cenſures had not created any diſtractions in the Republick, and found their Treaſure and Force like to prove a match too hard to the Apoſtolical Chamber, and to ſuch Forces as he could levy and pay, he was at laſt willing to accept of a mediation, in which the Senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate Fryers, yet aſſerted their Right, and maintained their Laws, notwithſtanding all his threatnings; nor would they ſo much as ask pardon, or crave abſolution. But without

without going further into matters ſo generally known, I ſhall only mention thoſe things in which Mr. *Bedell* had ſome ſhare.

P. Paulo was then the Divine of the State, a man equally eminent for vaſt learning and a moſt conſummated prudence; and was at once one of the greateſt Divines, and of the wiſeſt Men of his Age. But to commend the celebrated Hiſtorian of the Council of *Trent*, is a thing ſo needleſs that I may well ſtop; yet it muſt needs raiſe the Character of *Bedell* much, that an *Italian*, who, beſides the caution that is natural to the Countrey, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumſtances to a more than ordinary diſtruſt of all the World, was tyed up by the ſtrictneſs of that Government to a very great reſervedneſs with all people, yet took *Bedell* into his very Soul; and, as Sir *Henry Wotton* aſſured the late King, He communicated to him the inwardeſt thoughts of his Heart, and profeſſed that he had learnt more from him in all the parts of Divinity, whether Speculative or Practical, than from any he had ever converſed with in his whole life. So great an intimacy with ſo extraordinary a perſon is enough to raiſe

a Character, were there no more to be added. *P. Paulo* went further, for he aſſiſted him in acquiring the *Italian Tongue*, in which *Bedell* became ſuch a Maſter, that he ſpoke it as one born in *Italy*, and penned all the Sermons he then preached, either in *Italian* or *Latine*; in this laſt it will appear by the productions of his Pen yet remaining, that he had a true *Roman* Stile, inferior to none of the Modern Writers, if not equal to the Ancients. In requital of the Inſtruction he received from *P. Paulo* in the *Italian* Tongue, he drew a Grammar of the *Engliſh* Tongue for his uſe, and for ſome others that deſired to learn it, that ſo they might be able to underſtand our Books of Divinity, and he alſo tranſlated the *Engliſh* Common-prayer Book into *Italian*; and *P. Paulo* and the ſeven Divines that during the Interdict were commanded by the Senate both to preach and write againſt the Popes authority, liked it ſo well, that they reſolved to have made it their pattern, in caſe the differences between the Pope and them had produced the effect which they hoped and longed for.

The

The intimacy between them grew ſo great and ſo publick, that when *P. Paulo* was wounded by thoſe Aſſaſſinates that were ſet on by the Court of *Rome* to deſtroy ſo redoubted an Enemy, upon the failing of which attempt a Guard was ſet on him by the Senate, that knew how to value and preſerve ſo great a Treaſure; and much precaution was uſed before any were admitted to come to him, *Bedell* was excepted out of thoſe rules, and had free acceſs to him at all times. They had many and long diſcourſes concerning Religion: He found *P. Paulo* had read over the Greek New Teſtament with ſo much exactneſs, that having uſed to mark every Word when he had fully weighed the importance of it as he went through it; he had by going often over it, and obſerving what he paſt over in a former reading, grown up to that at laſt, that every word was marked of the whole New Teſtament: and when *Bedell* ſuggeſted to him critical explications of ſome paſſages that he had not underſtood before, he received them with the tranſports of one that leapt for joy, and that valued the diſcoveries of divine Truth beyond all other things.

During

During his ſtay at *Venice*, the famous *Ant. de Dominis* Archbiſhop of *Spalata* came to *Venice*; and having received a juſt character of Mr. *Bedell*, he diſcovered his ſecret to him, and ſhewing him his ten Books *De Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, which he afterwards printed at *London*: *Bedell* took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many ill applications of Texts of Scripture, and Quotations of Fathers. For that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue, could not but be guilty of many miſtakes both in the one and the other; and if there remain ſome places ſtill that diſcover his ignorance of that Language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if *Bedell* had not corrected them: but no wonder if in ſuch a multitude ſome eſcaped his diligence. *De Dominis* took all this in good part from him, and did enter into ſuch familiarity with him, and found his aſſiſtance ſo uſeful, and indeed ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that he uſed to ſay he could do nothing without him.

A paſſage fell out during the Interdict, that made greater noiſe than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to: but it was ſuited to the

Italian

Italian Genius. There came a Jeſuite to *Venice*, *Thomas Maria Caraffa*, who printed a Thouſand *Theſes* of Philoſophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant Inſcription, PAULO V. VICE-DEO *Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictiſſimo, & Pontificiæ Omnipotentiæ conſervatori acerrimo.* **To Paul the V. the Vice-God, the moſt invincible Monarch of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and the moſt zealous aſſerter of the Papal Omnipotency.**

All people were amazed at the impudence of this Title, but when Mr. *Bedell* obſerved that the numeral Letters of the firſt Words, *PAULO V. VICE-DEO* being put together, made exactly 666. the number of the Beaſt in the *Revelation*, he communicated this to *P. Paulo* and the Seven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate: it was entertained almoſt as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publickly preached over all their Territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichriſt: And it is like this was promoted by them more, becauſe they found it took with the *Italians*, than that they could build much upon it; though

though it was as ſtrong as the like computation from the *Greek* Word λατεῖνος, upon which ſome of the Ancients laid ſome weight. This flew ſo over *Italy*, that leſt it ſhould take too much among the people, the Pope cauſed his Emiſſaries to give it out every where, That Antichriſt was now born in *Babylon*, and was deſcended of the Tribe of *Dan*; and that he was gathering a vaſt Army, with which he intended to come and deſtroy Chriſtendome: and therefore all Chriſtian Princes were exhorted to prepare all their Forces for reſiſting ſo great an Invaſion. And with this piece of falſe news that was given out very confidently, the other conceit was choaked. But though Mr. *Bedel* makes uſe of it in his Book againſt *Wadſworth*, yet he was too modeſt a Man to claim the diſcovery of it to himſelf, but Sir *Henry Wotton* aſſured King *James*, That he firſt obſerved it.

Here I muſt add a paſſage, concerning which I am in doubt whether it reflected more on the ſincerity, or on the underſtanding of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour. The breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Criſis; ſo that it was expected a total ſeparation, not only from the Court,

Court, but the Church of *Rome*, was like to follow upon it. It was ſet on by P. *Paulo* and the Seven Divines with much zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, King *James* ordered his Ambaſſadour to offer all poſſible aſſiſtance to them, and to accuſe the Pope and the Papacy as the chief Authors of all the miſchiefs of Chriſtendome. The Prince and Senate anſwered this in words full of reſpect to King *James*, and ſaid, That they knew things were not ſo bad as ſome endeavoured to make the World believe, on deſign to ſow diſcord between Chriſtian Princes: and when the Popes Nuncio objected, That King *James* was not a Catholick, and ſo was not to be relyed on; The Duke anſwered, The King of *England* believed in Jeſus Chriſt, but he did not know in whom ſome others believed. Upon which *P. Paulo* and the Seven Divines preſſed Mr. *Bedell* to move the Ambaſſadour to preſent King *James*'s remonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States, then put in *Latine*, to the Senate, and they were confident it would produce a great effect. But the Ambaſſadour could not be prevailed on to do it at that time, and pretended that

ſince

ſince S. *James*'s day was not far off, i
would be more proper to do it on tha
day. If this was only for the ſake o
a Speech that he had made on the con
ceit of S. *James*'s Day and K. *James*'
Book, with which he had intended t
preſent it, that was a weakneſs neve
to be excuſed. But if this was only
pretence, and that there was a deſig
under it, it was a crime not to be for
given. All that *Bedell* could ſay or d
to perſwade him not to put off a thin
of ſuch importance was in vain; an
indeed I can hardly think that *Wotto*
was ſo weak a Man as to have acted ſin
cerely in this matter. Before S. *James*'
day came, which I ſuppoſe was th
Firſt of *May*, and not the Twenty fift
of *July*, the difference was made up
and that happy opportunity was loſt
ſo that when he had his audience o
that Day, in which he preſented th
Book, all the anſwer he got, was, Th
they thanked the King of *England* fo
his good will, but they were now re
conciled to the Pope, and that therefo
they were reſolved not to admit
any change in their Religion, a
cording to their agreement with th
Court of *Rome*.

It may be eaſily imagined what a Wound this was to his Chaplain, but much more to thoſe who were more immediately concerned in that matter; I mean *P. Paulo* with the Seven Divines, and many others, who were weary of the corruptions of their Worſhip, and were groaning for a Reformation. But now the reconciliation with *Rome* was concluded: the Senate carried the matter with all the dignity and Majeſty that became that moſt ſerene Republick, as to all civil things: for they would not ask Abſolution; but the Nuncio, to ſave the Popes credit, came into the Senate-Houſe, before the Duke was come, and croſſed his Cuſhion, and abſolved him. Yet upon this they would not ſuffer any publick ſigns of joy to be made; nor would they recal the Jeſuites. But in all theſe things greater regard was had to the dignity of their State, than to the intereſt of Religion; ſo that *P. Paulo* was out of all hopes of bringing things ever back to ſo promiſing a conjuncture; upon which he wiſht he could have left *Venice* and come over to *England* with Mr. *Bedell*: but he was ſo much eſteemed by the Senate for his great Wiſdom, that he was conſulted by them as an Oracle, and truſted

ed with their moſt important Secrets: ſo that he ſaw it was impoſſible for him to obtain his *Congè*; and therefore he made a ſhift to comply as far as he could with the eſtabliſhed way of their Worſhip; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great meaſure rather quieted than ſatisfied his Conſcience. In ſaying of Maſs, he paſt over many parts of the Canon, and in particular thoſe Prayers, in which that Sacrifice was offered up to the honour of Saints: He never prayed to Saints, nor joyned in thoſe parts of the Offices that went againſt his Conſcience; and in private Confeſſions and Diſcourſes, he took people off from thoſe abuſes, and gave them right Notions of the purity of the Chriſtian Religion; ſo he hoped he was ſowing Seeds that might be fruitful in another Age: and thus he believed he might live innocent in a Church that he thought ſo defiled. And when one preſt him hard in this matter, and objected that he ſtill held communion with an Idolatrous Church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewiſe encouraged to continue in it: All the anſwer he made

to

to this was, That God had not given him the Spirit of *Luther*. He expreſſed great tenderneſs and concern for *Bedell*, when he parted with him; and ſaid that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power: but that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his Picture, with an Hebrew Bible without Points, and a little Hebrew Pſalter, in which he writ ſome Sentences expreſſing his eſteem and friendſhip for him; and with theſe he gave him the unvaluable Manuſcript of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, together with the Hiſtory of the Interdict and of the Inquiſition; the firſt of theſe will ever be reckoned the chief pattern after which all, that intend to ſucceed well in writing Hiſtory, muſt copy. But among other Papers that *P. Paulo* gave him, ſome that were of great importance are loſt: for in a Letter of Mr *Bedells* to Dr. *Ward*, he mentions a Collection of Letters that were ſent him Weekly from *Rome* during the conteſts between the *Jeſuites* and *Dominicans*, concerning the efficacy of Grace; of which *P. Paulo* gave him the Originals; and in his Letter to Dr. *Ward* he mentions his having ſent them to him.

Theſe, very probably, contained a more particular relation of that matter than the World has yet ſeen, ſince they were writ to ſo curious and ſo inquiſitive a Man; but it ſeems he did not allow *Bedell* to print them, and ſo I am afraid, they are now irrecoverably loſt.

When *Bedell* came over, he brought along with him the Archbiſhop of *Spalata*, and one *Deſpotine* a Phyſician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the *Roman* Worſhip; and ſo choſe a freer air. The latter lived near him in S. *Edmundsbury*, and was by his means introduced into much Practice, which he maintained ſo well, that he became eminent in his Profeſſion, and continued to his death to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with him. As for the Archbiſhop of *Spalata* his Story, it is too well known to need to be much enlarged on. He was an ambitious Man, and ſet too great a value on himſelf, and expreſſed it ſo indecently, that he ſunk much in the eſtimation of the *Engliſh* Clergy, by whom he was at firſt received with all poſſible reſpect; but after he had ſtayed ſome years in *England*, upon the promotion of Pope *Gregory* the XIV. that had been his School-fellow, and old acquaintance, he

was made believe that the Pope intended to give him a Cardinals Hat, and to make great uſe of him in all affairs; ſo that he fancied that he ſhould be the inſtrument of a great Reformation in the Church: his Pride made him too eaſie to flatter himſelf with theſe vain Hopes, and the diſtaſte ſome of the *Engliſh* Clergy had taken at him for his ambition and covetouſneſs, gave *Gundamor* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour great advantages in the conduct of that matter: for his mind that was blown up with vanity, and ſharpned with reſentment, was eaſily wrought on, ſo that he, believing that the Promiſes made him would not only be performed, but that he might be the inſtrument of bringing about a great change, even at *Rome*, went thither. He was at firſt well received by the Pope himſelf: But he happened to ſay of Cardinal *Bellarmine*, that had writ againſt him, That he had not anſwered his Arguments. Upon which a complaint was carried to the Pope, as if he had been ſtill of the ſame mind, in which he was when he publiſhed his Books. He excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, That though *Bellarmine* had not anſwered his Arguments, yet he did not ſay they were unanſwerable:

and he offered to anſwer them himſelf if they would allow him time for it. But this excuſe was not accepted, ſo he was caſt into the Inquiſition, but was never brought to any Tryal: He was poyſoned not long after, and his Body was caſt out at a Window, and all his Goods were confiſcated to the Pope. This was the tragical end of that great but inconſtant Man: If he had had as good a Soul as he had a great underſtanding, together with vaſt learning, conſidering his education and other diſadvantages, he had deſerved to have been reckoned among the greateſt Men of his Age. In his Fate it appeared, how fooliſhly credulous, Vanity makes a Man; ſince he that was an *Italian* born, and knew the Court of *Rome* ſo well, could be wrought on ſo far, as to believe that they were capable of pardoning and promoting him after the miſchief he had done their Cauſe. This account of that matter, my Author had from Maſter *Bedell*'s own Mouth.

But now Mr. *Bedell* had finiſhed one of the Scenes of his life with great honour. The moſt conſiderable addition he made to his learning at *Venice*, was in the improvements in the He-

brew,

brew, in which he made a great progreſs by the aſſiſtance of *R. Leo*, that was the chief *Chacham* of the Jewiſh Synagogue there: From him he learn'd their way of pronunciation, and ſome other parts of Rabbinical learning; but in exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true underſtanding of many paſſages in the Old Teſtament, with which that *Rabbi* expreſſed himſelf often to be highly ſatisfied: And once in a ſolemn diſpute, he preſt his *Rabbi* with ſo clear proofs of Jeſus Chriſt being the true Meſſias, that he, and ſeveral others, of his Brethren, had no other way to eſcape, but to ſay that their Rabbins every where did expound thoſe Prophecies otherwiſe, according to the Tradition of their Fathers. By *R. Leo*'s means, he purchaſed that fair Manuſcript of the Old Teſtament, which he gave to *Emmanuel* Colledge; and, as I am credibly informed, it coſt him its weight in Silver.

After Eight Years ſtay in *Venice*, he returned to *England*, and without pretending to Preferment, or aſpiring to it; he went immediately to his charge at S. *Edmundsbury*, and there went on in his miniſterial labours; with which he

mixt the tranſlating *P. Paulo*'s immortal Writings into Latine. Sir *Adam Newton* tranſlated the two firſt Books of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, but was not maſter enough of the two Languages; ſo that the Archbiſhop of *Spalata* ſaid it was not the ſame Work; but he highly approved of the two laſt, that were tranſlated by Mr. *Bedell*, who likewiſe tranſlated the Hiſtory of the Interdict, and of the Inquiſition, and dedicated them to the King. But no notice was taken of him, and he lived ſtill private and unknown in that obſcure corner. He had a Soul of too generous a compoſition to ſtoop to thoſe ſervile compliances, that are often expected by thoſe that have the diſtribution of Preferments in their power. He thought that was an abjectneſs of Spirit that became not a Chriſtian Philoſopher, much leſs a Churchman, who ought to expreſs a contempt of the World, a contentedneſs with a low condition, and a reſignation of ones outward circumſtances wholly to the conduct of Divine Providence; and not to give that advantage which Atheiſts and Libertines take from the covetouſneſs and aſpirings of ſome Churchmen, to ſcoff at Religion, and to call *Prieſthood*

hood a Trade. He was content to deſerve Preferment, and did not envy others, who upon leſs merit, but more induſtry arrived at it. But though he was forgot at Court, yet an eminent Gentleman in *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, who was a privy Counſellour, and Vice-Chamberlain to King *Charles* the Firſt, and a great Patron of Vertue and Piety, took ſuch a liking to him, that as he continued his whole life to pay him a very particular eſteem; ſo a conſiderable Living that was in his Gift, falling void, he preſented him to it in the Year 1615. When he came to the Biſhop of *Norwich* to take out his Title to it, he demanded large Fees for his Inſtitution and Induction: But *Bedell* would give no more than what was ſufficient gratification for the Writing, the Wax, and the Parchment; and refuſed to pay the reſt. He lookt on it as Simony in the Biſhop, to demand more, and as contrary to the command of Chriſt, who ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Freely ye have received, and freely give.* And thought it was a branch of the ſin of Simony to ſell Spiritual things to Spiritual perſons; and ſince whatſoever was askt, that was more than a decent Gratification to the Ser-

vant for his pains, was asked by reaſon of the thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the Goſpel, and that it was a ſin both in the Giver and in the Taker. He had obſerved that nothing was more expreſly contrary to all the Primitive Rules. *Chryſoſtome* examined a complaint made againſt *Autonine* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, for exacting Fees at Ordination. *Autonine* dyed before the Proceſs was finiſhed; but ſome Biſhops, that had paid thoſe Fees, were upon that degraded and made incapable to officiate any more, though they pretended, that they paid that Money as a Fee for obtaining a Releaſe from ſuch Obligations as lay on them by Law, to ſerve the Court. Afterwards not only all Ordinations for Money, but the taking Money for any Imployment that depended upon the Biſhops Gift, was moſt ſeverely condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon* The Buyer was to loſe his Degree, and the Seller was to be in danger of it: And after that, ſevere cenſures were every where decreed againſt all Preſents that might be made to Biſhops, either before or after Ordinations, or upon the account of Writings, or of Feaſts, or any other expence that was brought in uſe

uſe to be made upon that occaſion; and even in the Council of *Trent*, it was Decreed, That nothing ſhould be taken for Letters dimiſſory, the Certificates, the Seals, or upon any ſuch like ground, either by Biſhops or their Servants, even though it was freely offered. Upon theſe accounts Mr. *Bedell* reſolved rather to loſe his Preſentation to the Parſonage of *Horingſheath*, than to purchaſe his Title to it by doing that which he thought *Simony*. And he left the Biſhop and went home: But ſome few days after, the Biſhop ſent for him, and gave him his Titles, without exacting Fees of him; and ſo he removed to that place, where he ſtayed Twelve Years, during which time he was a great honour to the Church, as well as a pattern to all Churchmen. His habit and way of living was very plain, and becoming the ſimplicity of his Profeſſion. He was very tender of thoſe that were truly poor, but was ſo ſtrict in examining all Vagabonds, and ſo dexterous in diſcovering counterfeit Paſſes, and took ſuch care of puniſhing thoſe that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his Town. In all that time no notice was ever taken of him, though he gave a very ſingular

ſingular evidence of his great capacity. For being provoked by his old acquaintance *Wadſworth*'s Letters, he writ upon the points in controverſie with the Church of *Rome*, with ſo much learning and judgment, and in ſo mild a ſtrain, that no wonder if his Book had a good effect on him, for whom it was intended: It is true he never returned and changed his Religion himſelf, but his Son came from *Spain* into *Ireland*, when *Bedell* was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Kilmore* there, and told him, That his Father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it: he ſaid, It was almoſt alwayes lying open before him, and that he had heard him ſay, He was reſolved *to ſave one*. And it ſeems he inſtructed his Son in the true Religion, for he declared himſelf a Proteſtant on his coming over. This Book was printed, and dedicated to the late King, while he was Prince of *Wales*, in the Year 1624. The true Reaſons that obſtructed *Bedell*'s preferment ſeem to be theſe; He was a *Calviniſt* in the matter of Decrees and Grace; and Preferments went generally at that time to thoſe that held the other Opinions. He had alſo another Principle, which was not very acceptable

ceptable to some in power: he thought, Conformity was an exact adhereing to the Rubrick; and that the adding any new Rite or Ceremony, was as much Nonconformity, as the passing over those that were prescribed: So that he would not use those Bowings or Gesticulations that grew so much in fashion, that Mens affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding, not to conclude, That these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed that when once the humour of adding new Rites and Ceremonies got into the Church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk, to which we find it swelled in the Church of *Rome*. And this began so early, and grew so fast, that S. *Austin* complained of it in his time, saying, That the condition of Christians was then more uneasie by that Yoke of Observances, than that of the Jews had been. And therefore *Bedell* thought the adhering to established Laws and Rules was a certain and fixed thing; whereas Superstition was infinite. So he was against all Innovations, or arbitrary and assumed Practices; and so much the more, when Men were distinguished, and markt out for Preferment, by that which

which in ſtrictneſs of Law was a thing that deſerved puniſhment. For in the Act of *Uniformity*, made in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, it was made highly penal, to uſe *any other Rite or Ceremony, Order or Form, either in the Sacraments, or in Morning or Evening Prayers, than what was mentioned and ſet forth in that Book.* And this was particularly intended to reſtrain ſome that were leavened with the former Superſtition, and yet for ſaving their Benefices, might conform to the New Service, but retain ſtill with it many of the old Rites in ſacred Offices. And it ſeems our Legiſlators were of the ſame mind, when the laſt Act of *Uniformity* was paſt; for there is a ſpecial *Proviſo* in it, *That no Rites or Ceremonies ſhould be openly uſed in any Church, other than what was preſcribed and appointed to be uſed in and by the ſaid Book.* Therefore he continued to make the Rubrick the meaſure of his Conformity, as well before his promotion as after it.

But he was well ſatisfied with that which the Providence of God laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his paſtoral care, and in his own private Studies; and was as great a Pattern in *Suffolk*,

folk, of the paſtoral care, in the lower degree, as he proved afterwards in *Ireland* in the higher Order. He laboured not as an Hireling that only raiſed a Revenue out of his Pariſh, and abandoned his Flock, truſting them to the cheapeſt Mercenary that he could find; nor did he ſatisfie himſelf with a ſlight performance of his duty only for faſhions ſake; but he watched over his Flock like one that knew he was to anſwer to God for thoſe Souls committed to his charge: ſo he preached to the underſtandings and Conſciences of his Pariſh, and Catechiſed conſtantly. And, as the whole courſe of his own moſt exemplary behaviour was a continued Sermon; ſo he was very exact in the more private parts of his Function, viſiting the Sick, and dealing in ſecret with his people, to excite or preſerve in them a deep ſenſe of Religion. This he made his work, and he followed it ſo cloſe, and lived ſo much at home, that he was ſo little known, or ſo much forgot, that when *Diodati* came over to *England*, many years after this, he could hear of him from no perſon that he met with; though he was acquainted with many of the Clergy. He was much

much amazed at this, to find that ſo extraordinary a Man, that was ſo much admired at *Venice*, by ſo good Judges, was not ſo much as known in his own Countrey; and ſo he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by a meer accident he met him on the Streets of *London*, at which there was a great deal of joy on both ſides. And upon that *Diodati* preſented him to *Morton* the learned and antient Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and told how great a value *P. Paulo* ſet on him; upon which that Biſhop treated him in a very particular manner. It is true, Sir *Henry Wotton* was alwayes his firm and faithful Friend; but his Credit at Court had ſunk: for he fell under neceſſities, having lived at *Venice* in an expence above his appointments. And as neceſſitous Courtiers muſt grow to forget all concerns but their own; ſo their intereſt abates, and the favour they are in leſſens, when they come to need it too much. Sir *Thomas Jermyn* was in more credit, though he was alwayes ſuſpected of being too favourable to the *Puritans*; ſo that his inclinations being known, the character he could give of him, did not ſerve to raiſe him in *England*.

While

While he was thus neglected at home, his fame was ſpread into *Ireland*; and though he was not known either to the famous Biſhop *Uſher*, or to any of the Fellows of *Trinity* Colledge in *Dublin*, yet he was choſen by their unanimous conſent, to be the Head of their Colledge, in the Year 1627. and as that worthy Primate of *Ireland*, together with the Fellows of the Colledge, writ to him, inviting him to come and accept of that Maſterſhip, ſo an Addreſs was made to the King, praying that he would command him to go over. And that this might be the more ſucceſsful, Sir *Henry Wotton* was moved to give his Majeſty a true account of him, which he did in the following Letter.

May it pleaſe your moſt gracious Majeſty,

HAving been informed, That certain perſons have, by the good Wiſhes of the Archbiſhop of Armagh, *been directed hither, with a moſt humble Petition unto your Majeſty, That you will be pleaſed to make Mr.* William Bedell *(now reſident upon a ſmall Benefice in* Suffolk*) Governour of your Colledge at* Dublin, *for the good*

of

of that Society: and my ſelf being required to render unto your Majeſty ſome Teſtimony of the ſaid William Bedell, *who was long my Chaplain at* Venice, *in the time of my imployment there; I am bound in all Conſcience and Truth (ſo far as your Majeſty will accept of my poor Judgment) to affirm of him, That, I think, hardly a fitter Man could have been propounded to your Majeſty in your whole Kingdom, for ſingular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal to advance the Cauſe of God; wherein his Travells abroad were not obſcure, in the time of the Excommunication of the* Venetians. *For, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to know, That this is the Man whom* Padre Paulo *took (I may ſay) into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardeſt Thoughts of his Heart; from whom he profeſſed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both ſcholaſtical and poſitive, than from any that he had practiſed in his Dayes: of which all the paſſages were well known unto the King your Father, of bleſſed memory. And ſo with your Majeſties good favour, I will end this needleſs office: for the general fame of his Learning, his Life, and Chriſtian*

ſtian Temper, and thoſe religious Labours which himſelf hath dedicated to your Majeſty, do better deſcribe him than I am able.

Your Majeſties

moſt humble and

faithful Servant,

H. Wotton.

But when this matter was propoſed to Mr. *Bedell*, he expreſſed ſo much both of true Philoſophy, and real Chriſtianity in the Anſwer that he made to ſo honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwiſe than in his own Words, taken from a Letter which he writ to one that had been imployed to deal with him in this matter. The Original of this and moſt of the other Letters that I ſet down, were found among the Moſt Reverend Primate *Uſher*'s Papers, and were communicated to me by his Reverend and worthy Friend Dr. *Parre*.

SIR,

WIth my hearty commendations remembred: I have this Day received both your Letters, dated the 2. of this Month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my Friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate; yet since that I perceive by both your Letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three Children; therefore if the place requires a single Man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent Living of above a hundred pound a Year, in a good Air and Seat, with a very convenient House near to my Friends, a little Parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak Voice. I have often heard it, That changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well, That my Wife,

(though

(though reſolving, as ſhe ought, to be contented with whatſoever God ſhall appoint) had rather continue with her Friends in her native Countrey, than put her ſelf into the hazzard of the Seas, and a foreign Land, with many caſualties in Travel, which ſhe perhaps out of fear, apprehends more than there is cauſe.

All theſe reaſons I have, if I conſult with Fleſh and Blood, which move me rather to reject this offer; (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate for his Mind and good Opinion of me:) on the other ſide, I conſider the end, wherefore I came into the World, and the buſineſs of a Subject to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of a Miniſter of the Goſpel of a good Patriot, and of an honeſt Man. If I may be of any better uſe to my Countrey, to Gods Church, or of any better ſervice to our common Maſter, I muſt cloſe mine eyes againſt all private reſpects; and if God call me, I muſt anſwer, Here I am. For my part therefore I will not ſtir one Foot, or lift up my Finger for or againſt this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, If thoſe whom it concerns there, do procure thoſe who may command me here, to ſend me thither, I ſhall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, *but into* Virginia, *yea though I*

were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death it ſelf in the performance. Sir, I have as plainly as I can, ſhewed you my mind; deſiring you with my humble ſervice to repreſent it to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection; ſo I reſt

From *Bury*
March 6.
1626.

Your

loving Friend

Will. Bedell.

The concluſion of this matter was, That the King being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake this charge, which he did cheerfully obey; and ſet about the duties incumbent on him, in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed how well he had improved the long time of retirement, that he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digeſted all his thoughts and obſervations. He had hitherto liv-

ed as if he had been made for nothing but ſpeculation and ſtudy; and now when he entred upon a more publick Scene, it appeared that he underſtood the practical things of Government and humane life ſo well, that no man ſeemed to be more cut out for buſineſs than he was. In the Government of the Colledge, and at his firſt entry upon a new Scene, he reſolved to act nothing till he both knew the Statutes of the Houſe perfectly well, and underſtood well the tempers of the people; therefore when he went over firſt, he carried himſelf ſo abſtractly from all affairs, that he paſt for a ſoft and weak Man. The zeal that appeared afterwards in him, ſhewed, That this coldneſs was only the effect of his Wiſdom, and not of his Temper: but when he found that ſome grew to think meanly of him, and that even *Uſher* himſelf began to change his opinion of him: Upon that when he went over to *England* ſome Months after, to bring his Family over to *Ireland*, he was thinking to have reſigned his new Preferment, and to have returned to his Benefice in *Suffolk*; but the Primate writ ſo kind a Letter to him, that as it made him lay down thoſe thoughts: ſo it drew from him the fol-

lowing Words in the Anſwer that he writ to him.

Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your Graces exhortation, adviſing me to have Faith in God, and not to conſult with Fleſh and Blood, nor have mind of this Countrey. Now I would to God, that your Grace could look into my Heart, and ſee how little I fear lack of Proviſion, or paſs upon any outward thing in this World: My chief fear in truth was, and is, leſt I ſhould be unfit and unprofitable in the place; in which caſe, if I might have a lawful and honeſt retreat, I think no wiſe Man could blame me to retain it: Eſpecially having underſtood that your Grace, whoſe authority I chiefly followed at the firſt, did from your own Judgment, and that of other wiſe Men, ſo truly pronounce of me, That I was a weak Man. Now that I have received your Letters ſo full of life and encouragement, it puts ſome more life in me. For ſure it cannot agree with that goodneſs and ingenuity of yours, praiſed among all Gods Graces in you, by thoſe that know you, to write one thing to me, and to ſpeak another thing to others of me, or to go about to beguile my ſimplicity with fair Words, laying in the mean while a Net for my Feet, eſpe-

cially

dally sith my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither.

Thus was he prevailed on to resign his Benefice, and carry his Family to *Ireland*, and then he applyed himself with that vigour of Mind, that was peculiar to him, to the government of the Colledge.

He corrected such abuses as he found among them; he set such rules to them, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made: And as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular Province was to instruct the House aright in the Principles of Religion. In order to this he catechised the Youth in the Colledge once a Week, and preached once a *Sunday*, though he was not obliged to it: And that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of Divinity, he divided the Church Catechism into Two and Fifty Parts, one for every *Sunday*, and did explain it in a way so mixed with Speculative and Practical Matters, that his Sermons were both learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to Vertue and

Piety: Many took notes of them, and Copies of them were much enquired after; for as they were fitted to the capacity of his Hearers, ſo they contained much matter in them, for entertaining the moſt learned. He had not ſtayed there above two Years, when by his Friend Sir *Thomas Jermyn*'s means, a Patent was ſent him to be Biſhop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*, two contiguous Sees in the Province of *Ulſter*. And in the Letters by which the King ſignified his pleaſure for his Promotion, he likewiſe expreſſed his acceptance of the ſervice he had done in the Colledge, in very honourable terms as follows:

And as we were pleaſed by our former gracious Letters to eſtabliſh the ſaid William Bedell, *by our Royal Authority in the Provoſtſhip of the ſaid Colledge of the* Bleſſed Trinity *near* Dublin, *where we are informed that by his care and good Government, there hath been wrought great Reformation, to our ſingular contentment; ſo we purpoſe to continue our care of that Society, being the principal Nurſery of Religion and Learning in that our Realm; and to recommend unto the Colledge ſome ſuch perſon from whom we may expect the like worthy effects*

fects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell.

And now in the 59*th.* Year of his Age, he entered upon a different course of Life and Employment, when it might have been thought, that the vigour of his Spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his Dioceſs, it appeared that their remained yet a vaſt heat and force of Spirit to carry him through thoſe difficult undertakings, to which he found himſelf obliged by this new Character; which if it makes a Man but a little lower than the Angels, ſo that the term *Angel* is applyed to that Office in Scripture, he thought it did oblige him to an angelical courſe of life, and to divide his time, as much as could conſiſt with the frailties and neceſſities of a Body made of Fleſh and Blood, as thoſe glorious Spirits do, between the beholding the Face of their Father which is in Heaven, and the miniſtring to the Heirs of Salvation: he conſidered the Biſhops office made him the Shepherd of the inferiour Shepherds, if not of the whole Dioceſs; and therefore he reſolved to ſpare himſelf in nothing, by which he might advance the intereſt of Religion among them: and he thought

it

it a diſingenuous thing to vouch Antiquity for the Authority and Dignity of that Function, and not at the ſame time to expreſs thoſe Virtues and Practices that made it ſo Venerable among them. Since the Forms of Church Government muſt appear amiable and valuable to the Word, not ſo much for the reaſonings and arguments that learned Men uſe concerning them, as for the real advantages that mankind find from them. So that he determined with the great *Nazianzen*, *To give Wings to his Soul, to reſcue it wholly from the World, and to dedicate it to God:* And not to think it enough to perform his duty in ſuch a manner, as to paſs through the reſt of his life without reproach: for according to that Father, *This was to weigh out Vertue by ſmall weights*; but in the Language of that Father he reſolved to live, *As one that had got above his Senſes, and all ſenſible things, that was recollected within himſelf, and had attained to a familiarity with divine matters, that ſo his mind might be as an unſullied Mirrour, upon which he might receive and repreſent the impreſſes of God and divine things, unallyed with the Characters of lower objects.* He ſaw he would fall under ſome envy, and meet with

with great oppoſitions, but he conſidered that as a ſort of martyrdome for God, and reſolved cheerfully to undergo whatſoever uneaſie things he might be forced to ſuffer, in the diſcharge of his Conſcience and Duty.

In laying open his deſigns and performances in this laſt and greateſt period of his life, I have fuller materials than in the former parts. For my Author was particularly known to him during a large part of it, and ſpent ſeveral Years in his Family; ſo that his opportunities of knowing him were as great as could be deſired, and the Biſhop was of ſo gentle a temper, and of ſo communicative a nature, that he eaſily opened himſelf to one, that was taken into his alliance as well as into his heart, he being indeed a Man of primitive ſimplicity. He found his Dioceſs under ſo many diſorders, that there was ſcarce a ſound part remaining. The Revenue was waſted by exceſſive dilapidations, and all ſacred things had been expoſed to ſale in ſo ſordid a manner, that it was grown to a Proverb. But I will not enlarge further on the ill things others had done, than as it is neceſſary to ſhew the good things that were done by him. One of his Cathedrals, *Ardagh*,

dagh, was fallen down to the ground, and there was ſcarce enough remaining of both theſe Revenues to ſupport a Biſhop that was reſolved not to ſupply himſelf by indirect and baſe methods: he had a very ſmall Clergy, but Seven or Eight in each Dioceſs of good ſufficiency; but every one of theſe was multiplyed into many Pariſhes, they having many Vicarages a piece; but being *Engliſh*, and his whole Dioceſs conſiſting of *Iriſh*, they were barbarians to them; nor could they perform any part of divine Offices among them. But the ſtate of his Clergy will appear beſt from a Letter that he writ to Archbiſhop *Laud* concerning it, which I ſhall here inſert.

Right

Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord.

SInce my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas *(till which time, the ſettling of the ſtate of the Colledge, and my Lord Primate's Viſitation deferred my Conſecration) I have not been unmindful of your Lordſhips commands, to advertiſe you, as my experience ſhould inform me, of the ſtate of the Church, which I ſhall now the better do, becauſe I have been about my Dioceſſes, and can ſet down, out of my knowledge and view, what I ſhall relate: and ſhortly to ſpeak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miſerable. The Cathedral Church of* Ardagh, *one of the moſt ancient in* Ireland, *and ſaid to be built by S.* Patrick, *together with the Biſhops Houſe there, down to the ground. The Church here, built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice. The Pariſh Churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, ſaving a few* Britiſh *Planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the remnant) obſtinate Recuſants. A Popiſh Clergy*

Clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exerciſe of all Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, by their Vicar-General and Officials; who are ſo confident as they Excommunicate thoſe that come to our Courts, even in matrimonial cauſes: which affront hath been offered my ſelf by the Popiſh Primates Vicar-General; for which I have begun a Proceſs againſt him. The Primate himſelf lives in my Pariſh, within two Miles of my Houſe; the Biſhop in another part of my Dioceſs further off. Every Pariſh hath its Prieſt; and ſome two or three a piece, and ſo their Maſs-Houſes alſo; in ſome places Maſs is ſaid in the Churches. Fryers there are in diverſe places, who go about, though not in their Habit, and by their importunate begging impoveriſh the people; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cauſe, ſo, from their paying double Tythes to their own Clergy, and ours, from the dearth of Corn, and the death of their Cattle theſe late Years, with the Contributions to their Souldiers and their Agents: and which they forget not to reckon among other cauſes, the oppreſſion of the Court Eccleſiaſtical, which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuſe, and do ſeek to reform. For our own, there are Seven or Eight Miniſters in each Dioceſs of good ſufficiency; and

(*which*

(which is no ſmall cauſe of the continuance of the people in Popery ſtill) Engliſh, *which have not the Tongue of the people, nor can perform any Divine Offices, or converſe with them; and which hold many of them Two or Three, Four, or more Vicarages apiece; even the Clerkſhips themſelves are in like manner conferred upon the* Engliſh; *and ſometimes Two or Three, or more, upon one Man, and ordinarily bought and ſold or let to farm. His Majeſty is now with the greateſt part of this Countrey, as to their Hearts and Conſciences, King, but at the Popes diſcretion.*

Kilmore Apr. 1. 1630.

Will. Kilmore & Ardagh.

Here was a melancholy proſpect to a Man of ſo good a mind, enough to have diſheartned him quite, if he had not had a proportioned degree of Spirit and courage to ſupport him under ſo much weight. After he had recovered ſomewhat of the ſpoils made by his Predeceſſor, and ſo put himſelf into a capacity to ſubſiſt, he went about the rein-

reforming of abuſes: And the firſt that he undertook was Pluralities, by which one Man had a care of Souls in ſo many different places, that it was not poſſible to diſcharge his duty to them, nor to perform thoſe Vows, which he made at his Ordination, of feeding and inſtructing the Flock committed to his care. And tho' moſt of the Pluraliſts did mind all their Pariſhes alike, that is, They neglected all equally; yet he thought this was an abuſe contrary both to the nature of Eccleſiaſtical Functions, to the obligations that the care of Souls naturally imported, and to thoſe ſolemn Vows that Church-men made at the Altar when they were ordained: And he knew well that this corruption was no ſooner obſerved to have crept into the Chriſtian Church, than it was condemned by the Fourth general Council at *Chalcedon*. For when ſome that had removed from one Dioceſs to another, continued to have their ſhare in the dividend of the Church, which they had left, as well as of that to which they had gone; the Council decreed, That ſuch tranſgreſſours ſhould reſtore all that they had got from the Church, which they had left, and ſhould be degraded, if they refuſed to ſubmit to this regulation.

regulation. He thought it a vain, and indeed an impudent thing, for a Man to pretend that he anſwered the obligation of ſo ſacred a truſt, and ſo holy a Vow, by hiring ſome mercenary Curate to perform Offices: ſince the Obligation was perſonal, and the eccleſiaſtical Functions were not like the *Levitical* Service in the Temple, in which the obſerving their Rites, was all that was required. But the watching over Souls had ſo many other things involved in it, beſides officiating according to the Rubrick, that it drew this ſevere reflection from a witty Man, in which though the Wit of it may ſeem too pleaſant for ſo ſerious a ſubject, yet it had too much ſad truth under it; *That when ſuch Betrayers and Abandoners of that truſt which Chriſt purchaſed with his own Blood, found good and faithful Curates that performed worthily the obligations of the paſtoral Care, the Incumbent ſhould be ſaved by Proxy, but be damned in Perſon.* Therefore the Biſhop gathered a meeting of his Clergy, and in a Sermon with which he opened it, he laid before them, both out of Scripture, and Antiquity, the Inſtitution, the Nature, and the Duties of the Miniſterial Imployment; and after

Sermon he ſpoke to them largely on the ſame ſubject in Latin, ſtiling them, as he alwayes did, His Brethren and fellow Presbyters: And exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuſe, which as it brought a heavy ſcandal on the Church, and gave their Adverſaries great advantages againſt them; ſo it muſt very much endanger both their own Souls, and the Souls of their Flocks. And to let them ſee that he would not lay a heavy Burthen on them, in which he would not bear his own ſhare, he reſolved to part with one of his Biſhopricks. For though *Ardagh* was conſidered as a ruined See, and had long gone as an acceſſory to *Kilmore*, and continues to be ſo ſtill; yet ſince they were really two different Sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his Clergy to renounce their Pluralities, unleſs he ſet them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a conſiderable charge in recovering the Patrimony of *Ardagh*, and though he was ſufficiently able to diſcharge the duty of both theſe Sees, they being contiguous, and ſmall; and though the Revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not ſeem to be guilty of that which he

he ſo ſeverely condemned in others: And therefore he reſigned *Ardagh* to Dr. *Richardſon*; and ſo was now only Biſhop of *Kilmore*. The Authority of this example, and the efficacy of his Diſcourſe, made ſuch an impreſſion on his Clergy, that they all relinquiſhed their Pluralities. The Arguments that ariſe out of intereſt are generally much ſtronger than thoſe of mere ſpeculation, how well ſoever it be made out; and therefore this concurrence that he met with from his Clergy in ſo ſenſible a point, was a great encouragement to him to go on in his other deſigns. There ſeemed to be a Finger of God in it; for he had no authority to compel them to it, and he had managed the minds of his Clergy ſo gently in this matter, that their compliance was not extorted, but both free and unanimous. For, one only excepted, they all ſubmitted to it: and he being Dean, exchanged his Deanery with another; for he was aſhamed to live in the Dioceſs, where he would not ſubmit to ſuch terms, after both the Biſhop himſelf and all his Clergy had agreed to them. But the oppoſition that was given him by the Dean, and both his ſenſe of that matter, and his carriage in it, will appear from the

following Letter, which he writ concerning it to the Primate; which, though it be long and particular, yet it ſeemed to me too important to be either ſtifled or abridged.

Moſt reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

I *Cannot eaſily expreſs what contentment I received at my late being with your* Grace *at* Termonſeckin. *There had nothing hapned to me, I will not ſay, ſince I came into* Ireland, *but, as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did ſo much affect me in this kind, as the hazzard of your good opinion. For, loving and honouring you in Truth (for the truths ſake, which is in us, and ſhall abide with us for ever) without any private intereſt, and receiving ſo unlookt for a blow from your own Hand, (which I expected ſhould have tenderly applyed ſome remedy to me, being ſmitten by others) I had not preſent the defences of Reaſon and Grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in my ſelf, ſince in the performance of our duties, the Judgment of our Maſter, even alone, ought to ſuffice us; yet*

yet I could not be ſo much Maſter of mine Affections as to caſt out this weakneſs. But bleſſed be God, who (as I began to ſay) at my being with you refreſhed my Spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me: and all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my Defence, and took upon you the cogniſance of mine innocency. And as for mine Accuſer (whoſe hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous deſire of heaping Living upon Living, to the evident damage, not only of other Souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad, and do give God Thanks that this malignity, which a while masked it ſelf in the pretence of friendſhip, hath at laſt diſcovered it ſelf by publick oppoſition. It hath not, and I hope it ſhall not be in his power to hurt me at all; he hath rather ſhamed himſelf: and, although his high Heart cannot give his Tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his Underſtanding is not ſo weak and blind as not to ſee it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taſt the Fruit of it alſo, without being further troubleſome to your Grace, ſave that I do not deſpair, but your Grace's Authority will pull him out of the ſnare of Satan, whoſe inſtrument he hath been to croſs the Work of God, and give me

more occaſion of joy by his amendment, than I had grief by his perverſion and oppoſition.

Your Grace's Letters of Aug. 23. *were not delivered to me till the* 29th. *In the mean ſpace what effect thoſe that accompanied them had with Mr.* Dean *you ſhall perceive by the incloſed which were ſent me the* 28th. *the Evening before our Communion. I anſwered them the next Morning, as is here annexed. As I was at the Lord's Table, beginning the ſervice of the Communion before the Sermon, he came in, and after the Sermon was done, thoſe that communicated not being departed, he ſtood forth and ſpake to this purpoſe:*

That whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires, That before the Lord's Supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there ſhould be reconciliation; this was much more requiſite between Miniſters: *And becauſe they all knew that there had been ſome difference between me and him, he did profeſs,* That he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me in any thing, he was ſorry. *I anſwered,* That he had good reaſon to be ſorry, conſidering how he had behaved himſelf. For my part I bare him no malice,

lice, and if it were in my power, would not make ſo much as his Finger ake. *Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were many good Parts, would become an inſtrument to oppoſe the Work of God, which I was aſſured he had called me to. This was all that paſſed. He offered himſelf to the Lord's Board, and I gave him the Communion. After Dinner he preached out of* 1 Joh. 4. 10. And this Commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, *&c. When we came out of the Church, Dr.* Sheriden *delivered me your Grace's Letters. And thus Mr. Dean thinks he hath healed all, as you may perceive by his next Letters of* Auguſt 30. *Only he labours about* Kildromfarten. *Whereabouts I purpoſed to have ſpoken with your Grace at my being with you; but I know not how it came not to my mind, whether it be that the Soul, as well as the body, after ſome travel eaſily falleth to reſt; or elſe God would have it reſerved perhaps to a more ſeaſonable time.*

It is now above a Twelvemonth (the Day in many reſpects I may well wiſh that it may not be reckoned with the dayes of the year) that your Grace, as it were, delivered to me with your own Hands, Mr. Crian *a converted Fryer. To whom*

I offered my ſelf as largely as my Ability would extend unto: though I had already at your Grace's commendation received Mr. Dunſterville *to be in my Houſe, with the allowance of Twenty Pound* per annum. *The next Day before my departing, Mr.* Hilton *made a motion to me, That where he had in his Hands ſufficient to make the Benefice of* Kildromfarten *void, if I would beſtow it upon Mr.* Dean *he would do ſo; otherwiſe it ſhould remain* in ſtatu. *I anſwered with profeſſion of my love and good opinion of Mr.* Dean, *whereof I ſhewed the reaſons. I added, I did not know the place nor the people, but if they were mere* Iriſh, *I did not ſee how Mr.* Dean *ſhould diſcharge the duty of a Miniſter to them. This motion was ſeconded by your Grace: But ſo as I eaſily conceived, That being ſollicited by your old Servant, you could do no leſs than you did; and notwithſtanding the Lecture he promiſed your Grace ſhould be read to me in the matter of Collations, would not be diſpleaſed, if I did as became me, according to my Conſcience, and in conformity to your former motion for Mr.* Crian. *Mr.* Dean *after preſſed me, that, if without my concurrence your Grace would conferr that Living upon him, I would not be againſt it; which I promiſed, but heard*

heard no more of it till about April *laſt. In the mean while the Benefice next unto that which Mr.* Dunſterville *was already poſſeſſed of, falling void: Mr.* Crian *not coming to me, nor purpoſing to do ſo till after* Chriſtmas, *and whenſoever he ſhould come, my Houſe, as I found, not affording room for him and Mr.* Dunſterville *both, whoſe former Benefice was unable, he ſaid, to maintain him, chiefly he promiſing Reſidence, and taking of me for that purpoſe an Oath, abſolutely without any exception of Diſpenſation, I united it to his former, and diſmiſſed him to go to his Cure; wherein how careleſly he hath behaved himſelf, I forbear to relate. To return to Mr.* Dean. *About mid-*April *he brought me a Preſentation to* Kildromfarten *under the broad Seal. I could do no leſs but ſignifie to the Incumbent, who came to me, and maintained his Title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the Preſentation, indorſing the reaſon of my refuſal; and being then occaſioned to write to the Lords Juſtices, I ſignified what I thought of theſe Pluralities, in a time when we are ſo far overmatcht in number by the adverſe part. This paſſed on till the Viſitation; wherein Mr.* Dean *ſhewed himſelf in his Colours. When the Vicar of* Kildromfarten *was called, he ſaid,*

ſaid, he was Vicar; but would exhibite no Title. After, the Curate, Mr. Smith, *ſignified to me, That his Stipend was unpaid, and he feared it would be ſtill in the contention of two Incumbents. Upon theſe and other Reaſons, I ſequeſtred the Profits, which I have heard by a Simonaical compact betwixt them ſhould be for this Year the former Incumbents. Neither did Mr.* Dean *write or ſpeak a Word to me hereabout, till the day before the Communion in the incloſed. That very Morning I was certified that he purpoſed to appeal to your Grace, which made me in anſwer to his next to add,* Quod facias, fac citius.

Here I beſeech your Grace give me leave to ſpeak freely touching this matter, ſo much the rather, becauſe it is the only root of all Mr. Dean's *deſpite againſt me. Plainly I do thus think, That of all the diſeaſes of the Church in theſe times, next to that of the corruption of our Courts, this of Pluralities is the moſt deadly and peſtilent, eſpecially when thoſe are inſtituted into charges Eccleſiaſtical, who, were they never ſo willing, yet for want of the Language of the people, are unable to diſcharge them. Concerning which very Point, I know your Grace remembers the Propoſitions of the learned and zealous*

zealous Biſhop of Lincoln *before Pope* Innocent. *I will not add the Confeſſion of our Adverſaries themſelves in the Council of* Trent, *nor the judgment of that good Father, the Author of the Hiſtory thereof, touching non-Reſidency. Let the thing it ſelf ſpeak. Whence flow the ignorance of the people, the neglect of Gods worſhip, and defrauding the Poor of the remains of dedicate things, the ruine of the manſion-Houſes of the Miniſters, the deſolation of Churches, the ſwallowing up of Pariſhes by the Farmers of them, but from this Fountain? There may be cauſe, no doubt, why ſometimes, in ſome place, and to ſome Man, many Churches may be committed; but now that, as appears by the late Certificates, there are, beſides the titular Primate and Biſhop, of Prieſts in the Dioceſſes of* Kilmore *and* Ardagh, *66. of Miniſters and Curates but 32. of which number alſo 3. whoſe wives came not to Church: In this ſo great odds as the adverſaries have of us in number, (to omit the advantage of the Language, the poſſeſſion of peoples Hearts, the countenancing of the Nobility and Gentry, Is it a time to commit many Churches to one Man, whom I will not diſable, and he ſaith he hath a very able Interpreter, and I think no leſs (which made me once*

to

to ſay, That I would ſooner confer the Benefice of Kildromfarten *upon him than upon himſelf, which reſolution I do yet hold, in how ill part ſoever he take it.) But what hath he done in the Pariſhes already committed to him, for the inſtruction of the* Iriſh, *that we ſhould commit another unto him? he that cannot perform his duty to one without a helper, or to that little part of it whoſe Tongue he hath, is he ſufficient to do it to three? No it is the Wages is ſought, not the Work. And yet with the means he hath already, that good Man his Predeceſſor maintained a Wife and a Family; and cannot he in his ſolitary (he had once written Monkiſh) life defray himſelf? Well, if there can be none found fit to diſcharge the duty, let him have the Wages to better his maintenance. But when your Grace aſſureth us we ſhall lack no Men, when there is beſides Mr.* Crian *(whom Dr.* Sheriden *hath heard preach as a Frier in that very place; which I account would be more to Gods Glory, if there now he ſhould plant the Truth, which before he endeavoured to root out) beſides him we have Mr.* Nugent, *who offereth himſelf in an honeſt and diſcreet Letter lately written to me, we have ſundry in the Colledge, and namely, two trained up at the* Iriſh *Lecture, one whereof*

hath

hath tranſlated your Grace's Catechiſm into Iriſh; *beſides Mr.* Duncan *and others; with what colour can we paſs by theſe; and ſuffer him to fat himſelf with the blood of Gods people? Pardon me, I beſeech your Grace, when I ſay* We: *I mean not to preſcribe any thing to you; my ſelf, I hope, ſhall never do it, or conſent to it. And ſo long as this is the cauſe of Mr.* Dean's *wrath againſt me, whether I ſuffer by his Pen or his Tongue, I ſhall rejoyce, as ſuffering for Righteouſneſs ſake. And, ſith himſelf in his laſt Letter excuſes my intent, I do ſubmit my actions after God, to your Grace's Cenſure, ready to make him ſatisfaction, if in any things, in word or deed, I have wronged him.*

For concluſion of this buſineſs (wherein I am ſorry to be ſo troubleſome to your Grace) let him ſurceaſe this his greedy and impudent pretence to this Benefice, let Mr. Nugent *be admitted to it, or Mr.* Crian, *if he be not yet provided for: To whom I will hope ere long to add Mr.* Nugent *for a Neighbour,* σὺν τῷ δὲ μετανοῆσαι, *If theſe ſecond (queſtionleſs better) thoughts have any place in him; as in his laſt Letters he gives ſome hope, let my complaints againſt him be caſt into the Fire. God make him an humble and modeſt Man. But if Mr.* Dean *will needs perſiſt,*

perſiſt, I beſeech your Grace to view my Reply, to the which I will add no more. As touching his traducing me in your Pulpit at Cavan, *I have ſent your Grace the Teſtimonies of Mr.* Robinſon *and Mr.* Teate; *although he had been with them before, and denied what they formerly conceived. And if your Grace will be pleaſed to enquire of Mr.* Cape, *by a line or two, (with whom I never ſpake Word about the matter) or compare the Heads of his Sermon (which he ſaith were general) with his former Reports made of me, I doubt not but you will ſoon find the truth.*

I have ſent alſo his Proteſtation againſt my Viſitation, wherein I deſire your Grace to obſerve the blindneſs of Malice: He pretends that I may not viſit but at or after Michaelmas *every Year. As if the Month of* July, *wherein I viſited, were not after* Michaelmas: *For before the laſt* Michaelmas *I viſited not. I omit that he calls himſelf the Head of the Chapter. The Canon Law calls the Biſhop ſo: he will have the Biſhop viſit the whole Dioceſs together; directly contrary to that Form, which the Canons preſcribe. But this Proteſtation having neither Latin, nor Law, nor common Senſe; doth declare the skill of him that drew*

drew it, and the Wit of him that uſes it. which, if your Grace injoyn him not to revoke it, I ſhall be inforced to put remedy unto otherwiſe, in reſpect of the evil example and prejudice it might bring to poſterity. And now to leave this unpleaſing ſubject. Since my being with you, here was with me Mr. Brady, *bringing with him the reſignation of the Benefice of* Mullagh, *which I had conferred upon Mr.* Dunſterville, *and united to his former of* Moybolke; *He brought with him Letters from my Lord of* Cork, *and Sir* William Parſons, *to whom he is allied. But examining him, I found him (beſides a very raw Divine) unable to read the* Iriſh, *and therefore excuſed my ſelf to the Lords for admitting him. A few Dayes after,* viz. *the* 10th. *of this Month, here was with me Mr.* Dunſterville *himſelf, and ſignified unto me that he had revoked his former Reſignation. Thus he playes faſt and looſe, and moſt unconſcionably neglects his duty.* Omnes quæ ſua ſunt, quærunt. *Indeed I doubted his Reſignation was not good, in as much as he retained ſtill the former Benefice, whereunto this was united. Now I ſee clearly there was a compact between him and Mr* Brady, *that if the ſecond could not be admitted, he ſhould reſume his Benefice again.*

I have received Letters from Mr. Dr. Warde, *of the Date of* May 28. *in which he mentions again the point of the juſtification of Infants by Baptiſm. To whom I have written an anſwer, but not yet ſent it. I ſend herewith a Copy thereof to your Grace, humbly requiring your advice and cenſure (if it be not too much to your Grace's trouble) before I ſend it. I have alſo written an anſwer to Dr.* Richardſon *in the queſtion touching the root of Efficacy or Efficiency of Grace; but it is long, and conſiſts of* 5. *or* 6. *ſheets of Paper, ſo as I cannot now ſend it; I ſhall hereafter ſubmit it, as all other my endeavours, to your Grace's cenſure, and correction. I have received alſo a large anſwer from my Lord of* Derry, *touching juſtifying Faith; whereto I have not yet had time to reply; nor do I know if it be worth the labour, the difference being but in the manner of teaching, As whether juſtifying Faith be an aſſent working affiance; or elſe an affiance following Aſſent. I wrote preſently upon my return from your Grace to my Lords Juſtices, deſiring to be excuſed from going in perſon to take poſſeſſion of the Maſs-Houſe; and a Certificate that my ſuit with Mr.* Cook *is depending before them. I have not as yet received anſwer, by reaſon (as Sir* William

liam Uſher *ſignified to my Son) the Lord Chancellor's indiſpoſition did not permit his hand to be gotten.*

I do ſcarce hope to receive any Certificate from them, for the reſpect they will have not to ſeem to infringe your Grace's Juriſdiction. Whereupon I ſhall be inforced to entertain a Proctor for me at your Grace's Court; when I am next to appear, it being the very time when my Court in the County of Leatrym *was ſet before I was with you.*

Aſhamed I am to be thus tedious. But I hope you will pardon me, ſith you required, and I promiſed, to write often; and having now had opportunity to convey my Letters, this muſt ſerve in ſtead of many: Concluding with mine and my Wives humble ſervice to your Grace and Mrs. Uſher, *and thanks for my kind entertainment, I deſire the bleſſing of your Prayers, and remain alwayes*

Your Grace's

Kilmore, Sept. 18. 1630.

humble Servant,

Will. Kilmore & Ardagh.

The condemning Pluralities was but the half of his Project. The next part of it was to oblige his Clergy to reſide in their Pariſhes: but in this he met with a great difficulty. King *James* upon the laſt reduction of *Ulſter* after *Tyrone*'s Rebellion, had ordered *Glebe-lands* to be aſſigned to all the Clergy: And they were obliged to build Houſes upon them, within a limited time, but in aſſigning thoſe *Glebe-lands*, the Commiſſioners that were appointed to execute the Kings Orders, had taken no care of the conveniences of the Clergy: For in many places theſe Lands were not within the Pariſh, and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcells. So he found his Clergy were in a ſtrait. For if they built Houſes upon theſe *Glebe-lands*, they would be thereby forced to live out of their Pariſhes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their Houſes remote from their Lands. In order to a remedy to this, the Biſhop that had Lands in every Pariſh aſſigned him, reſolved to make an exchange with them, and to take their *Glebe-lands* into his own hands for more convenient portions of equal value that he aſſigned them: and

that the exchange might be made upon a juſt eſtimate, ſo that neither the Biſhop nor the inferiour Clergy might ſuffer by it, he procured a Commiſſion from the Lord Lieutenant, for ſome to examine and ſettle that matter, which was at laſt brought to a concluſion with ſo univerſal a ſatisfaction to his whole Dioceſs, that, ſince the thing could not be finally determined without a Great Seal from the King, confirming all that was done, there was One ſent over in all their names to obtain it; but this was a work of time, and ſo could not be finiſhed in ſeveral Years: and the Rebellion broke out before it was fully concluded.

The Lord Lieutenant at this time was Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, a name too great to need any enlargement or explanation: for his Character is well known. At his firſt coming over to *Ireland*, he was poſſeſſed with prejudices againſt the Biſhop upon the account of a Petition ſent up by the County of *Cavan*, to which the Biſhop had ſet his hand, in which ſome complaints were made, and ſome regulations were propoſed for the Army: Which was thought an inſolent attempt, and a matter of ill example. So that

Strafford, who was ſevere in his adminiſtration, was highly diſpleaſed with him: And when any Commiſſion or Order was brought to him, in which he found his name, he daſhed it out with his own Pen; and expreſſed great indignation againſt him. When the Biſhop underſtood this, he was not much moved at it, knowing his own innocence; but he took prudent methods to overcome his diſpleaſure. He did not go to *Dublin* upon his coming over, as all the other Biſhops did, to congratulate his coming to the Government: but he writ a full account of that matter to his conſtant Friend Sir *Thomas Jermin*, who managed it with ſo much zeal, that Letters were ſent to the Deputy from the Court, by which he was ſo much mollified towards the Biſhop, that he going to congratulate, was well received, and was ever afterwards treated by him with a very particular kindneſs. So this Storm went over, which many thought would have ended in impriſonment, if not in deprivation. Yet how much ſoever that Petition was miſtaken, he made it appear very plain that he did not deſign the putting down of the Army: For he ſaw too evidently the danger they were in from Popery

ry, to think they could be long ſafe without it. But a Letter that contains his vindication from that aſperſion, carries in it likewiſe ſuch a repreſentation of the ſtate of the Popiſh intereſt then in *Ireland*, and of their numbers, their tempers, and their principles, that I will ſet it down. It was written to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and is taken from the printed copy of it that Mr. *Prynne* has given us.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

IN the midſt of theſe thoughts, I have been advertized from an honourable Friend in England, *that I am accuſed to his Majeſty to have oppoſed his ſervice; and that my hand with two other Biſhops only, was to a Writing touching the Money to be levied on the Papiſts for maintenance of the Men of War. Indeed, if I ſhould have had ſuch an intention, this had been not only to oppoſe the ſervice of his Majeſty, but to expoſe with the publick peace, mine own Neck, to the Skeans of the* Romiſh *Cut-throats. I that knew that in this Kingdom of his Majeſties,*

This ſeems to be but the half of the Letter by the beginning.

the Pope hath another Kingdom far greater in number, and as I have heretofore ſignified to the Lord Juſtices and Council (which is alſo ſince juſtified by themſelves in Print) conſtantly guided and directed by the Order of the new Congregation De propaganda Fide, *lately erected at* Rome, *tranſmitted by the means of the Popes Nuntio's reſiding at* Bruſſells *or* Paris, *that the Pope hath here a Clergy, if I may gueſs by my own Diocеſs, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal Oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities* contra omnem hominem, *and to execute his Mandates to the uttermoſt of their Forces; which accordingly they do, ſtiling themſelves in Print,* Ego N. Dei & Apoſtolicæ Sedis gratia Epiſcopus Fermien & Oſſorien. *I that knew there is in the Kingdom for the moulding of the people to the Popes obedience, a rabble of irregular Regulars, commonly younger Brothers of good Houſes, who are grown to that inſolency, as to advance themſelves to be members of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy in better ranks than Prieſts, in ſo much that the cenſure of the* Sorbon *is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; ſo tender is the Pope of his own Creatures. I that knew*

that

that his Holineſs hath erected a new Univerſity in Dublin *to confront his Majeſties Colledge there, and to breed the youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, of which Univerſity one* Paul Harris, *the Author of that infamous libel, which was put forth in Print againſt my Lord* Armach's Wanſted *Sermon, ſtileth himſelf in Print to be Dean: I that knew and have given advertiſement to the State, that theſe Regulars dare erect new Fryeries in the Countrey, ſince the diſſolving of theſe in the City, that they have brought the people to ſuch a ſottiſh ſenſeleſneſs, as they care not to learn the Commandments as God himſelf ſpake, and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new ſuperſtitious and deteſtable Doctrines, ſuch as their own Prieſts are aſhamed of; and at all thoſe they levy Collections, Three, Four, Five, or Six Pounds at a Sermon. Shortly, I that knew that theſe Regulars and this Clergy have at a general meeting like to a Synod, as themſelves ſtile it, decreed, That it is not lawful to take an Oath of Allegiance; and if they be conſtant to their own Doctrine, do account his Majeſty in their Hearts to be King but at the Popes diſcretion. In this ſtate of*

this Kingdom, to think the Bridle of the Army may be taken away, ſhould be the thought not of a brain-ſick, but of a brainleſs Man.

The day of our deliverance from the Popiſh Powder Plot, *Anno* 1633.

Your Lordſhip's

in all Duty,

Will. Kilmore.

By his cutting off Pluralities there fell to be many Vacancies in his Dioceſs, ſo the care he took to fill theſe, comes to be conſidered in the next place. He was very ſtrict in his Examinations before he gave Orders to any. He went over the Articles of the Church of *Ireland* ſo particularly and exactly, that one who was preſent at the Ordination of him that was afterwards his Arch-Deacon, Mr. *Thomas Price*, reported that though he was one of the Senior Fellows of the Colledge of *Dublin*, when the Biſhop was Provoſt; yet his Examination held two full Hours: And when he had ended any examination, which was alwayes done in the pre-

preſence of his Clergy, he deſired every Clergy-Man that was preſent to examine the perſon further, if they thought that any material thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller diſcovery of his temper and ſufficiency might be made. When all was ended, he made all his Clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to Ordination: For he would never aſſume that ſingly to himſelf, nor take the Load of it wholly on his own Soul. He took alſo great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of thoſe he ordained, as well as he ſatisfied himſelf by his Examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had alwayes a conſiderable number of his Clergy aſſiſting him at his Ordinations, and he alwayes Preached and adminiſtred the Sacrament on thoſe occaſions himſelf: And he never ordained one a Presbyter, till he had been at leaſt a year a Deacon, that ſo he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raiſed him higher. He lookt upon that power of Ordination as the moſt ſacred part of a Biſhop's truſt, and that in which the Laws of the Land had laid no ſort of impoſition on them, ſo that this was intirely in their Hands, and therefore he thought

thought they had ſo much the more to anſwer for to God on that account; and he weighed carefully in his thoughts the importance of thoſe Words, *Lay hands ſuddenly on no Man, and be not a partaker of other Mens Sins.* Therefore he uſed all the precaution that was poſſible for him in ſo important an affair. He was never prevail'd on by any recommendations nor importunities to ordain any; as if Orders had been a ſort of Freedom in a Company, by which a Man was to be enabled to hold as great a portion of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue as he could compaſs, when he was thus qualified: Nor would he ever ordain any without a title to a particular Flock. For he thought a title to a maintenance was not enough; as if the Church ſhould only take care that none in Orders might be in want; but he ſaw the abuſes of thoſe emendicated titles, and of the Vagrant Prieſts that went about as Journeymen, plying for Work, to the great reproach of that ſacred Imployment; and in this he alſo followed the Rule ſet by the fourth general Council that carried this matter ſo high, as to annul all Orders that were given without a particular deſignation of the Place, where the perſon was to ſerve. For he made the Primitive

Primitive times his Standard, and reſolved to come as near it as he could, conſidering the corruption of the Age in which he lived. He remembred well the grounds he went on, when he refuſed to pay Fees for the Title to his Benefice in *Suffolk*, and therefore took care that thoſe who were ordained by him, or had Titles to Benefices from him, might be put to no charge: For he wrote all the Inſtruments himſelf, and delivered them to the perſons to whom they belonged, out of his own Hands, and adjured them in a very ſolemn manner, to give nothing to any of his Servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was poſſible, he waited on them alwayes on thoſe occaſions to the Gate of his Houſe, that ſo he might be ſure that they ſhould not give any gratification to his Servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them ſuch convenient wages as became them, and not to let his Clergy be burthened with his Servants. And indeed the abuſes in that were grown to ſuch a pitch, that it was neceſſary to correct them in ſo exemplary a manner.

His next care was to obſerve the behaviour of his Clergy; he knew the lives of Churchmen had generally much more

more efficacy than their Sermons, or other labours could have; and ſo he ſet himſelf much to watch over the Manners of his Prieſts; and was very ſenſibly touched, when an *Iriſhman* ſaid once to him in open Court, *That the Kings Prieſts were as bad as the Popes Prieſts.* Theſe were ſo groſly ignorant, and ſo openly ſcandalous, both for drunkenneſs, and all ſort of lewdneſs, that this was indeed a very heavy reproach: Yet he was no rude nor moroſe Reformer, but conſidered what the times could bear. He had great tenderneſs for the weakneſs of his Clergy, when he ſaw reaſon to think otherwiſe well of them: and he helpt them out of their troubles, with the care and compaſſion of a Father. One of his Clergy held two Livings; but had been couſened by a Gentleman of Quality to farm them to him for leſs than either of them was worth; and he acquainted the Biſhop with this: Who upon that writ very civilly, and yet as became a Biſhop, to the Gentleman, perſwading him to give up the bargain: but having received a ſullen and haughty anſwer from him, he made the Miniſter reſign up both to him; for they belonged to his Gift, and he provided him with another Benefice,

and

and put two other worthy Men in theſe two Churches, and ſo he put an end both to the Gentleman's fraudulent bargain, and to the Churchman's Plurality. He never gave a Benefice to any without obliging them by Oath to perpetual and perſonal reſidence, and that they ſhould never hold any other Benefice with that. So when one *Buchanan* was recommended to him, and found by him to be well qualified, he offered him a Collation to a Benefice, but when *Buchanan* ſaw that he was to be bound to Reſidence, and not to hold another Benefice; he that was already poſſeſſed of one, with which he reſolved not to part, would not accept of it on thoſe Terms. And the Biſhop was not to be prevailed with to diſpenſe with it, though he liked this Man ſo much the better, becauſe he found he was akin to the great *Buchanan*, whoſe Paraphraſe of the *Pſalms* he loved beyond all other Latin Poetry. The Latin form of his Collations will be found at the end of this Relation, which concluded thus; *Obteſting you in the Lord, and enjoyning you, by vertue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his Flock committed to your care, which he purcha-*

See at the end, Numb. 1.

ſed

ſed with his own Blood; that you inſtruct them in the Catholick Faith, and perform Divine Offices in a Tongue underſtood by the people: and above all things that you ſhew your ſelf a pattern to Believers in good Works, ſo that the adverſaries may be put to ſhame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you. He put all the Inſtruments in one, whereas devices had been found out, for the increaſe of Fees, to divide theſe into ſeveral Writings: nor was he content to write this all with his own hand, but ſometimes he gave Induction likewiſe to his Clergy; for he thought none of theſe Offices were below a Biſhop: and he was ready to eaſe them of charge all he could. He had by his zeal and earneſt endeavours prevailed with all his Preſbyters to reſide in their Pariſhes; one only excepted, whoſe name was *Johnſton*. He was of a mean Education, yet he had very quick Parts, but they lay more to the Mechanical than to the Spiritual Architecture. For the Earl of *Strafford* uſed him for an Engineer, and gave him the management of ſome great Buildings that he was raiſing in the County of *Wicklo*. But the Biſhop finding the Man had a very mercurial Wit, and a great capacity, he reſolved

to

to ſet him to work, that ſo he might not be wholly uſeleſs to the Church; and therefore he propoſed to him the compoſing an univerſal Character, that might be equally well underſtood by all Nations: and he ſhewed him, that ſince there was already an univerſal Mathematical Character, received both for Arithmetick, Geometry, and Aſtronomy, the other was not impoſſible to be done. *Johnſton* undertook it readily, and the Biſhop drew for him a Scheme of the whole Work, which he brought to ſuch perfection, that, as my Author was informed, he put it under the Preſs, but the Rebellion prevented his finiſhing it.

After the Biſhop had been for many years carrying on the Reformation of his Dioceſs, he reſolved to hold a Synod of all his Clergy, and to eſtabliſh ſome Rules for the better government of the Flock committed to him: The Canons then eſtabliſhed will be found at the end of this Work. He appointed that a Synod ſhould be held thereafter once a Year, on the Second Week of *September*; and that in the Biſhop's abſence, his Vicar General, if he were a Prieſt, or his Arch-Deacon ſhould preſide; That no Vicar ſhould be conſtituted after

See at the end, Numb. 1.

after that, unleſs he were in Orders, and ſhould hold his place only during the Biſhop's Pleaſure. He revived the ancient cuſtome of Rural Deans, and appointed, That there ſhould be three for the three Diviſions of his Dioceſs; who ſhould be choſen by the Clergy, and ſhould have an inſpection into their deportment, and make report to the Biſhop of what paſt among them, and tranſmit the Biſhop's Orders to them: and that once a Month the Clergy of each Diviſion ſhould meet, and Preach by turns, without long Prayers or Preambles: And that no Excommunication ſhould be made but by the Biſhop in perſon, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch of his Clergy as ſhould be preſent. The reſt related to ſome things of leſs importance, that required amendment. When the News of this was carried to *Dublin*, ſome ſaid it was an illegal Aſſembly, and that his preſuming to make Canons was againſt Law, and brought him within the guilt of a *Præmunire*. So that it was expected that he ſhould be brought up as a Delinquent, and cenſured in the *Starr-Chamber*, or High Commiſſion-Court: But others look on what he had done, as nothing but the neceſſary diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function.

Function. And it ſeemed ſtrange if ſome Rules laid down by common conſent, for the better Government of the Dioceſs, ſhould have furniſhed matter for an Accuſation or Cenſure. His Arch-Deacon, that was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Caſhill*, gave ſuch an account of this matter to the State, that nothing followed upon it. The Biſhop had indeed prepared ſuch a Juſtification of himſelf, as would have vindicated him fully before equitable Judges, if he had been queſtioned for it. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who knew well how much he could ſay for himſelf upon this Head, adviſed thoſe that moved that he might be brought up upon it, To let him alone, leſt he ſhould be thereby provoked to ſay more for himſelf, than any of his Accuſers could ſay againſt him.

When he made his Viſitations, he alwayes preached himſelf, and adminiſtred the Sacrament; and the buſineſs of his Viſitations was, what it ought truly to be, to obſerve the ſtate of his Dioceſs, and to give good Inſtructions both to Clergy and Laity. The Viſitations in *Ireland* had been matters of great Pomp and much Luxury, which lay heavy on the inferiour Clergy. Some ſlight enquiries were made, and thoſe

chiefly for Forms ſake; and indeed nothing was ſo much minded, as that which was the reproach of them, the Fees, that were exacted to ſuch an intollerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the Clergy. And as the Biſhops Viſitation came about every Year; ſo every third Year the Archbiſhop made his Metropolitical Viſitation, and every ſeventh Year the Kings Viſitation went round: And in all theſe as they were then managed, nothing ſeemed to be ſo much aimed at, as how to ſqueeze and oppreſs the Clergy, who were glad to purchaſe their Peace by paying all that was impoſed on them, by thoſe ſevere Exactors. Theſe Fees at Viſitations were not known in the Primitive Times, in which the Biſhop had the whole Stock of the Church in his hands to defray what expence neceſſarily fell on him, or his Church. It is true, when the Metropolitan, with other Biſhops, came and ordained the Biſhop at his See, it was but reaſonable that their expence ſhould be diſcharged; and this came to be rated to a certain Summ, and was called the Inthroniſtick: and when theſe grew unreaſonably high, the Emperours reduced them to a certain proportion, according to the Revenues

venues of the Sees. But when the Biſhops and the inferiour Clergy came to have diſtinct Properties, then the Biſhops exacted of their Clergy that which other Vaſſalls owed by their Tenure to the Lord of the Fee, which was the bearing the expence of their Progreſs: but when they began firſt to demand thoſe Subſidies from their Clergy, that Practice was condemned, and proviſion was made, That in caſe a Biſhop was ſo poor that he could not bear the charge to which his Viſitation put him, he ſhould be ſupplyed by the richer Biſhops about him; but not prey upon his Clergy. And both *Charles* the Great, and his Son *Lewis* took care to ſee this executed: Yet this abuſe was ſtill kept up, ſo that afterwards, in ſtead of putting it quite down, it was only regulated, ſo that it might not exceed ſuch a proportion; but that was not obſerved: So that an arbitrary Tax was in many places levied upon the Clergy. But our Biſhop reformed all theſe exceſſes, and took nothing but what was by Law and Cuſtome eſtabliſhed, and that was imployed in entertaining the Clergy: And when there was any overplus, he ſent it alwayes to the Priſons, for the relief of the Poor. At his Viſitation he

made his Clergy ſit all with him, and be covered, whenever he himſelf was covered. For he did not approve of the State, in which others of his Order made their Viſitations; nor the diſtance to which they obliged their Clergy. And he had that Canon often in his Mouth, *That a Presbyter ought not to be let ſtand after the Biſhop was ſet.* He was much troubled at another abuſe which was, that when the Metropolitical and Regal Viſitations went round, a Writ was ſerved on the Biſhops, ſuſpending their Juriſdiction for that year: And when this was firſt brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increaſed by two Clauſes in the Writ: By the one it was aſſerted, *That in the year of the Metropolitans Viſitation, the whole and entire Juriſdiction of the Dioceſs belonged to him*; the other was the Reaſon given for it, *Becauſe of the great danger of the Souls of the people:* Whereas the danger of Souls riſe from that ſuſpenſion of the Biſhops Paſtoral power, ſince during that Year he either could not do the duty of a Biſhop; or if he would exerciſe it, he muſt either purchaſe a Delegation to act as the Archbiſhop's Deputy, and that could not be had without

out paying for it, or be lyable to a Suit in the Prerogative Court.

He knew the Archbiſhop's power over Biſhops was not founded on Divine, or Apoſtolical right, but on Eccleſiaſtical Canons and Practice, and that it was only a matter of Order, and that therefore the Archbiſhop had no Authority to come and invade his Paſtoral Office, and ſuſpend him for a Year. Theſe were ſome of the worſt of the abuſes that the Canoniſts had introduced in the later Ages; by which they had broken the Epiſcopal Authority, and had made way for veſting the whole power of the Church in the Pope. He laid thoſe things often before Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and preſt him earneſtly to ſet himſelf to the reforming them, ſince they were acted in his name, and by vertue of his Authority deputed to his Chancellour, and to the other Officers of the Court, called the *Spiritual Court*. No Man was more ſenſible of thoſe abuſes than *Uſher* was; no Man knew the beginning and progreſs of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them: and together with his great and vaſt learning, no Man had a better Soul and a more Apoſtolical mind. In his converſation he expreſſed the true

ſimplicity of a Chriſtian: For Paſſion, Pride, ſelf-Will, or the Love of the World, ſeemed not to be ſo much as in his Nature. So that he had all the innocence of the Dove in him. He had a way of gaining peoples Hearts, and of touching their Conſciences that lookt like ſomewhat of the Apoſtolical Age revived; he ſpent much of his time in thoſe two beſt Exerciſes, ſecret Prayer, and dealing with other peoples Conſciences, either in his Sermons or private Diſcourſes; and what remained he dedicated to his Studies, in which thoſe many Volumes that came from him, ſhewed a moſt amazing diligence and exactneſs, joyned with great Judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greateſt and beſt Men that the Age, or perhaps the World, has produced. But no Man is intirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his Function. He had too gentle a Soul to manage that rough Work of reforming Abuſes: And therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of Reformation would come: He ſaw the neceſſity of cutting off many abuſes, and confeſſed that the tolerating thoſe abominable corruptions that the Canoniſts had brought in, was ſuch a ſtain upon a Church,

Church, that in all other reſpects was the beſt reformed in the World, that he apprehended it would bring a Curſe and Ruine upon the whole Conſtitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joynt Reformation of theſe things very heartily; yet he did not beſtir himſelf ſuitably to the Obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: And it is very likely that this ſat heavy on his thoughts when he came to dye; for he prayed often, and with great humility, That God would forgive him his ſins of Omiſſion, and his failings in his Duty. It was not without great uneaſineſs to me that I overcome my ſelf ſo far, as to ſay any thing that may ſeem to diminiſh the Character of ſo extraordinary a Man, who in other things was beyond any Man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himſelf: And thoſe that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only allay that ſeemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. His Phyſician Dr. *Bootius*, that was a *Dutchman*, ſaid truly of him, *If our Primate of* Armagh *were as exact a Diſciplinarian,*

as he is eminent in ſearching Antiquity, defending the Truth, and preaching the Goſpel, he might without doubt deſerve to be made the chief Churchman of Chriſtendome. But this was neceſſary to be told, ſince Hiſtory is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his Memory a little; for I was never ſo tempted in any thing that I ever writ, to diſguiſe the Truth, as upon this occaſion: Yet though Biſhop *Uſher* did not much himſelf, he had a ſingular eſteem for that vigour of Mind, which our Biſhop expreſſed in the reforming theſe matters. And now I come to the next inſtance of his Paſtoral care, which made more noiſe, and met with more oppoſition, than any of the former.

He found his Court, that ſat in his name, was an entire abuſe: It was managed by a Chancellour, that had bought his place from his Predeceſſor; and ſo thought he had a right to all the Profits that he could raiſe out of it, and the whole buſineſs of the Court ſeemed to be nothing but Extortion and Oppreſſion. For it is an old obſervation, That men, who buy Juſtice, will alſo ſell it. Bribes went about almoſt barefaced, and the exchange they made

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of Penance for Money was the worſt ſort of Simony; being in effect the very ſame abuſe that gave the World ſuch a ſcandal when it was ſo indecently practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, and opened the way to the Reformation. For the ſelling of Indulgences is really but a commutation of Penance. He found the Officers of the Court made it their buſineſs to draw people into trouble by vexatious Suits, and to hold them ſo long in it that for three Pence worth of the Tithe of Turf, they would be put to five Pounds charge. And the ſolemneſt and ſacredeſt of all the Church Cenſures, which was Excommunication, went about in ſo ſordid and baſe a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a Spiritual Cenſure, was loſt, and the effects it had in Law made it be cryed out on as a moſt intolerable piece of Tyranny. The Officers of the Court thought they had a ſort of right to oppreſs the Natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them. And of all this the good Primate was ſo ſenſible, that he gives this ſad account of the Venality of all ſacred things in a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: *As for the general ſtate of things here, they are ſo deſperate, that I am afraid to write any thing*

thing thereof. Some of the adverſe part have asked me the Queſtion, Where I have heard or read before, that Religion and Mens Souls ſhould be ſet to ſale, after this manner? Unto whom I could reply nothing, but that I had read in Mantuan, *That there was another place in the World where*

Cœlum eſt venale, Deúſque.

Both Heaven and God himſelf are ſet to ſale. But our Biſhop thought it not enough to lament this; he reſolved to do what in him lay to correct theſe abuſes, and to goe and ſit and judge in his own Courts himſelf. He carried a competent number of his Clergy with him, who ſate about him, and there he heard Cauſes, and by their advice he gave Sentence. By this means ſo many Cauſes were diſmiſt, and ſuch a change was wrought in the whole Proceedings of the Court, that inſtead of being any more a grievance to the Countrey, none were now grieved by it but the Chancellour, and the other Officers of the Court; who ſaw their Trade was ſunk, and their Profits were falling; and were already

already diſpleaſed with the Biſhop, for writing the Titles to Benefices himſelf, taking that part of their Gain out of their Hands. Therefore the Lay Chancellour brought a Suit againſt the Biſhop into Chancery, for invading his Office. The matter was now a common Cauſe; the other Biſhops were glad at this ſtep our Biſhop had made, and encouraged him to go on reſolutely in it, and aſſured him they would ſtand by him: and they confeſſed they were but half Biſhops till they could recover their authority out of the hands of their Chancellours. But on the other hand all the Chancellours and Regiſters of *Ireland* combined together; they ſaw this ſtruck at thoſe Places which they had bought, valuing them according to the Profits that they could make by them: and it cannot be denyed but they had reaſon to move, That if their places were regulated, the Money, by which they had purchaſed that right to ſqueeze the Countrey, ought to have been reſtored. The Biſhop deſired that he might be ſuffered to plead his own Cauſe himſelf; but that was denyed him, which he took ill: But he drew the Argument that his Council made for him; for it being the firſt Suit that ever was

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of that ſort, he was more capable of compoſing his Defence than his Counſel could be.

He went upon theſe Grounds, That one of the moſt eſſential parts of a Biſhop's duty was to govern his Flock, and to inflict the Spiritual Cenſures on obſtinate Offenders: That a Biſhop could no more delegate this power to a Lay-man, than he could delegate a power to Baptize or Ordain, ſince Excommunication and other Cenſures were a ſuſpending the Rights of Baptiſm and Orders; and therefore the judging of theſe things could only belong to him that had the power to give them: and that the delegating that power was a thing null of it ſelf. He ſhewed, That feeding the Flock was inherent and inſeparable from a Biſhop, and that no Delegation he could make, could take that power from himſelf; ſince all the effect it could have, was to make another his Officer and Deputy in his abſence. From this he went to ſhew how it had been ever lookt on as a neceſſary part of the Biſhop's Duty, to Examine and Cenſure the Scandals of his Clergy and Laity in Ancient and Modern times: That the *Roman* Emperours had by many Laws ſupported the Credit and Authority of theſe Courts,

Courts, that ſince the practices of the Court of *Rome* had brought in ſuch a variety of Rules, for covering the corruptions which they intended to ſupport; then that which is in it ſelf a plain and ſimple thing was made very intricate: So that the Canon Law was become a great ſtudy; and upon this account Biſhops had taken Civilians and Canoniſts to be their Aſſiſtants in thoſe Courts: but this could be for no other end but only to inform them in points of Law, or to hear and prepare matters for them. For the giving Sentence, as it is done in the Biſhops name, ſo it is really his Office; and is that for which he is accountable both to God and Man: and ſince the Law made thoſe to be the Biſhops Courts, and ſince the King had by Patent confirmed that Authority, which was lodged in him by his Office of governing thoſe Courts, he thought all Delegations that were abſolute and excluſive of the Biſhop, ought to be declared void. The Reader will perhaps judge better of the force of this Argument, than the Lord Chancellour of *Ireland Bolton* did, who confirmed the Chancellours right, and gave him an hundred Pound Coſts of the Biſhop. But when the Biſhop asked

ed him, How he came to make ſo unjuſt a Decree? he anſwered, That all that his Father had left him was a Regiſter's place; ſo he thought he was bound to ſupport thoſe Courts, which he ſaw would be ruined, if the way he took had not been checkt. This my Author had from the Biſhop's own mouth.

But as this matter was a leading Caſe, ſo great pains were taken to poſſeſs the Primate againſt the Biſhop; but his Letters will beſt diſcover the Grounds on which he went, and that noble temper of mind, that ſupported him in ſo great an undertaking. The one is long but I will not ſhorten it.

Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

I Have receiv'd your Grace's Letters concerning Mr. Cook, *and I do acknowledge all that your Grace writes to be true concerning his ſufficiency and experience to the execution of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction: neither did I forbear to do him right in giving him that Teſtimony, when before the Chapter I did declare and ſhew the*

the nullity of his Patent. I have heard of my Lord of attempt, and I do believe, That if this Patent had due form, I could not overthrow it; how unequal ſoever it be. But failing in the eſſential parts, beſides ſundry other defects, I do not think any reaſonable creature can adjudge it to be good. I ſhall more at large certifie your Grace of the whole matter, and the reaſons of my Counſel herein. I ſhall deſire herein to be tryed by your Grace's own Judgment, and not by your Chancellors; or (as I think in ſuch a caſe I ought to be) by the Synod of the Province. I have reſolved to ſee the end of this matter: and do deſire your Grace's favour herein no farther than the equity of the Cauſe and the good, as far as I can judge, of our Church in a high degree do require. So with my humble Service to your Grace, and reſpectful commendations to Mrs. Uſher, *I reſt*

Kilmore, Octob. 28. 1629.

Your Grace's

in all duty,

Will. Kilmore.

Moſt

Moſt reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

THe report of your Grace's indiſpoſition, how ſorrowful it was to me, the Lord knows. Albeit the ſame was ſomewhat mitigated by other News of your better eſtate. In that fluctuation of my mind (perhaps like that of your health) the Saying of the Apoſtle ſerved me for an Anchor, That none of us liveth to himſelf, neither doth any dye to himſelf. For whether we live, we live to the Lord; or whether we dye, we dye to the Lord. Whether we live therefore or dye, we are the Lords. *Thereupon from the bottom of my Heart commending your eſtate, and that of the Church here, (which how much it needs you, He knows beſt) to our common Maſter, though I had written large Letters to you, which have lain by me ſundry Weeks, fearing in your ſickneſs to be troubleſome; I thought not to ſend them, but to attend ſome other opportunity after your preſent recovery to ſend, or perhaps bring them. When I underſtood by Mr. Dean of his journey, or at leaſt ſending an expreſs Meſſenger to you with other Letters;*

Letters; putting me alſo in mind, That perhaps it would not be unwelcome to you to hear from me, though you forbare to anſwer. I yielded to the example and condition: ſo much the rather, becauſe I remembered my ſelf a Debtor to your Grace by my promiſe of writing to you more fully touching the Reaſons of my difference with Mr. Cooke; *and now a ſuiter in your Court at his inſtance.*

And, Firſt, I beſeech your Grace, let it be a matter meerly of merriment, that I skirmiſh a little with your Court touching the Inhibition and Citation which thence proceeded againſt me, as you ſhall perceive by the incloſed Recuſation. For the thing it ſelf, as I have written, I do ſubmit it wholly to your Grace's deciſion. And to enlarge my ſelf a little, not as to a Judge, but a Father, to whom, beſides the bond of your undeſerved love, I am bound alſo by an Oath of God; I will pour out my Heart unto you, even without craving pardon of my boldneſs. It will be perhaps ſome little diverſion of your thoughts from your own infirmity, to underſtand that you ſuffer not alone, but you in Body, others otherwiſe; each muſt bear his Croſs, and follow the ſteps of our high Maſter. My Lord, ſince it pleaſed God to call me to this place in this Church, what my intentions have

been to the diſcharge of my duty, he beſt knows. But I have met with many impediments and diſcouragements; and chiefly from them of mine own Profeſſion in Religion. Concerning Mr. Hoile, *I acquainted your Grace: Sir* Edward Bagſhaw, *Sir* Francis Hamilton, *Mr.* William Flemming, *and diverſe more have been, and yet are, pulling from the Rights of my Church. But all theſe have been light in reſpect of the dealing of ſome others, profeſſing me kindneſs, by whom I have been blazed a Papiſt, an Arminian, a Neuter, a Politician, an Equivocator, a niggardly Houſekeeper, an Uſurer: That I bow at the name of Jeſus, pray to the Eaſt, would pull down the Seat of my Predeceſſor to ſet up an Altar, denyed burial in the Chancel to one of his Daughters: and to make up all, That I compared your Grace's preaching to one Mr.* Whiskins, *Mr.* Creighton, *and Mr.* Baxters; *and preferred them: That you found your ſelf deceived in me. Theſe things have been reported at* Dublin, *and ſome of the beſt affected of mine own Dioceſs (as hath been told me) induced hereby to bewail with tears the miſery of the Church: ſome of the Clergy alſo, as it was ſaid, looking about how they might remove themſelves out of this Countrey. Of all this*

this I heard but little, till Mr. Price *coming from* Dublin *before* Christmas *to be ordered Deacon, having for his memory set down Twelve Articles, among a number of Points more, required satisfaction of me concerning them. Which I endeavoured to give both to him, and to them of the Ministry, that met at our Chapter for the examination of Mr* Cookes *Patent. Omitting all the rest; yet because this Venome hath spread it self so far, I cannot but touch the last, touching the preferring others to your Grace's preaching. To which Mr.* Price's *answer was, as he told me, I will be quartered if this be true. Thus it was, Mr.* Dunsterville *acquainted me with his purpose to preach out of* Prov. 20.6. But a faithful Man who can find; *where he said, the Doctrine he meant to raise was this, That Faith is a rare gift of God. I told him I thought he mistook the meaning of the Text, and wished him to choose longer Texts, and not bring his Discourses to a Word or two of Scripture; but rather to declare those of the Holy Ghost. He said your Grace did so sometimes. I answered, there might be just cause, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those Men, Mr.* Whiskins, *and the rest, I never heard any of them preach*

to this day. Peradventure, their manner is to take longer Texts; whereupon the compariſon is made up, as if I preferred them before you. This ſlander did not much trouble me. I know your Grace will not think me ſuch a Fool (if I had no fear of God) to prefer before your excellent gifts, Men that I never heard. But look as the French *Proverb is,* He that is diſpoſed to kill his Dog, tells Men he is mad: *And whom Men have once wronged, unleſs the Grace of God be the more, they ever hate. Concerning the wrongs which theſe people have offered me, I ſhall take another fit time to inform your Grace. Where they ſay, Your Grace doth find your ſelf deceived in me, I think it may be the trueſt word they ſaid yet. For indeed I do think both you and many more are deceived in me, accounting me to have ſome honeſty, diſcretion, and Grace, more than you will by proof find. But if, as it ſeems to me, that form hath his meaning that they pretend to have undeceived you, I hope they are deceived; yea I hope they ſhall be deceived, if by ſuch courſes as theſe they think to unſettle me; and the Devil himſelf alſo, if he think to diſmay me.*

I will go on in the ſtrength of the Lord God, and remember his righteouſneſs, even his alone, as by that reverend and good Father my Lord of Canterbury, *when I firſt came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained help of God to do to this day.*

But had I not work enough before, but I muſt bring Mr. Cooke *upon my top? One that for his Experience, Purſe, Friends, in a Caſe already adjudged, wherein he is ingaged, not only for his profit, but reputation alſo, will eaſily no doubt overbear me. How much better to ſtudy to be quiet, and to do mine own buſineſs; or, as I think* Staupitius *was wont to bid* Luther, *go into my Study and pray. My Lord, all theſe things came to my mind, and at the firſt I came with a reſolution to take heed to my ſelf, and, if I could, to teach others moderation and forbearance by mine own example. But I could not be quiet, nor without pity hear the complaints of thoſe that reſorted to me, ſome of them of mine own Neighbours and Tenants, called into the Court, commonly by information of Apparitors, holden there without juſt cauſe, and not diſmiſſed without exceſſive Fees, as they exclaimed. Laſtly, one Mr.* Mayot, *a Miniſter of the Dioceſs of* Ardagh, *made*

a complaint to me, That he was excommunicated by Mr. Cooke, *notwithſtanding, as I heard alſo by others, the correction of Miniſters was excepted out of his Patent. Whereupon I deſired to ſee the Patent, and to have a Copy of it, that I might know how to govern my ſelf. He ſaid Mr.* Ask, *being then from home, ſhould bring it to me at his return. Himſelf went to* Dublin *to the Term. At the firſt view I ſaw it was a formleſs Chaos of Authority, conferred upon him againſt all reaſon and equity. I had not long after, occaſion to call the Chapter together at the time of Ordination. I ſhewed the Original, being brought forth by Mr.* Ask, *deſired to know if that were the Chapter Seal, and theſe their Hands; they acknowledged their Hands and Seal, and ſaid they were leſs careful in paſſing it, becauſe they accounted it did rather concern my Predeceſſor than them. I ſhewed the falſe Latin, Non-ſenſe, Injuſtice of it, Prejudice to them, Contrariety to it ſelf, and the Kings Grant to me. I ſhewed there were in one Period above 500 Words, and, which paſſed the reſt, hanging in the air without any principal Verb. I deſired them to conſider if the Seal hanging to it were the Biſhop's Seal; they acknowledged it was not. Therefore with proteſtation,*

That

That I meant no way to call in queſtion the ſufficiency of Mr. Cooke *or his former Acts, I did judge the Patent to be void, and ſo declared it; inhibiting Mr.* Cooke *to do any thing by vertue thereof, and them to aſſiſt him therein. This is the true Hiſtory of this buſineſs howſoever Mr.* Cooke *diſguiſe it. I ſuſpend him not abſent, and* indicta cauſa; *it was his Commiſſion, which was preſent, that I viewed, which, with the Chapter, I cenſured; which if he can make good, he ſhall have leave, and time, and place enough.*

And now to accompliſh my promiſe, to relate to your Grace my purpoſe herein. My Lord I do thus account, that to any work or enterprize, to remove impediments is a great part of the performance. And amongſt all the impediments to the work of God amongſt us, there is not any one greater, than the abuſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. This is not only the opinion of the moſt Godly, Judicious, and Learned Men that I have known; but the cauſe of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true Reaſons of things; they are ſenſible in the Purſe. And that Religion that makes Men that profeſs it, and ſhews them to be deſpiſers of the World, and ſo far from encroaching upon others in matter of

baſe gain, as rather to part with their own; they magnifie. This bred the admiration of the Primitive Chriſtians, and after of the Monks. Contrary cauſes muſt needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never ſo painfully, and piouſly: I ſay more, let us live never ſo blameleſly our ſelves, ſo long as the Officers in our Courts prey upon them, they eſteem us no better than Publicans and Worldlings: and ſo much the more deſervedly, becauſe we are called Spiritual Men, and call our ſelves reformed Chriſtians. And if the honeſteſt and beſt of our own Proteſtants be thus ſcandalized, what may we think of Papiſts, ſuch as are all, in a manner, that we live among? The time was when I hoped the Church of Ireland *was free from this abuſe, at leaſt freer than her Siſter of* England: *But I find I am deceived; whether it be that diſtance of place, and being further out of the reach of the Scepter of Juſtice, breeds more boldneſs to offend, or neceſſarily brings more delay of redreſs. I have been wont alſo in* Ireland, *to except one Court, (as he doth* Plato*) but truſt me my Lord, I have heard that it is ſaid among great perſonages here, That my Lord Primate is a good Man; but his Court is as corrupt as others. Some ſay worſe, and which,*

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I confeſs to your Grace, did not a little terrifie me from viſiting till I might ſee how to do it with Fruit, that of your late Viſitation they ſee no profit, but the taking of Money.

But to come to Mr. Cooke, *of all that have exerciſed Juriſdiction in this Land theſe late Years, he is the moſt noted Man, and moſt cryed out upon. Inſomuch as he hath found from the* Iriſh, *the nickname of* Pouc: *Albeit he came off with credit when he was queſtioned, and juſtified himſelf by the Table of Fees, (as by a leaden Rule any Stone may be approved as well as hewed). By that little I met with ſince I came hither, I am induced to believe, it was not for lack of matter, but there was ſome other courſe of his eſcaping in that Tryal. By this pretended Commiſſion, and that Table of Fees, he hath taken in my Predeceſſors time, and ſeeks to take in mine for* Exhibits *at Viſitations, and his Charges there above the Biſhop's Procurations, for Unions, Sequeſtrations, Relaxations; Certificates, Licences, Permutations of Penance, Sentences (as our Court calls them) Interlocutory in Cauſes of Correction. Such Fees as I cannot in my Conſcience think to be juſt. And yet he doth it in my Name, and tells me I cannot*

not call him into queſtion for it. Alas, my Lord! if this be the condition of a Biſhop, that he ſtandeth for a Cypher, and only to uphold the Wrongs of other Men, What do I in this place? Am I not bound by my Profeſſion made to God in your preſence, and following your Words, To be gentle and merciful for Chriſts ſake to poor and needy people, and ſuch as be deſtitute of help. Can I be excuſed another day, with this, that thus it was ere I came to this place, and that it is not good to be over juſt? Or, ſith I am perſwaded Mr. Cooke's *Patent is unjuſt and void, am I not bound to make it ſo? and to regulate, If I may, this matter of Fees, and the reſt of the diſorders of the Juriſdiction, which his Majeſty hath intruſted me withal? Your Grace ſaith, Truly it is a difficult thing, if not impoſſible, to overthrow a Patent ſo confirmed; and I know in deliberations it is one of the moſt important conſiderations, what we may hope to effect. But how can I tell till I have tryed: To be diſcouraged ere I begin, is it not to conſult with Fleſh and Blood? Verily I think ſo. And therefore muſt put it to the Trial, and leave the ſucceſs to God. If I obtain the Cauſe, the Profit ſhall be to this poor Nation; if not, I ſhall ſhew my conſent to thoſe*

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my Reverend Brethren that have endeavoured to redreſs this enormity before me; I ſhall have the teſtimony of mine own Conſcience, to have ſought to diſcharge my duty to God and his People. Yea, which is the main, the work of my Miniſtry and ſervice to this Nation, ſhall receive furtherance howſoever rather than any hinderance thereby. And if by the continuance of ſuch oppreſſions any thing fall out otherwiſe than well, I ſhall have acquitted my ſelf towards his Majeſty, and thoſe that have engaged themſelves for me. At laſt I ſhall have the better reaſon and juſter cauſe to reſign to his Majeſty the juriſdiction which I am not permitted to manage. And here I beſeech your Grace, to conſider ſeriouſly whether it were not happy for us to be rid of this Charge, which not being proper to our Calling, is not poſſible to be executed without ſuch Deputies, as ſubject us to the ill conceit of their unjuſt or indiſcreet carriage, and no way further our own Work? Or if it ſhall be thought fit to carry this load ſtill, whether we ought not to procure ſome way to be diſcharged of the envy of it, and redreſs the abuſe, with the greateſt ſtrictneſs we can deviſe? For my part I cannot bethink me of any courſe fitter for the preſent, than to keep the Courts my ſelf, and ſet ſome

good

good order in them. And to this purpoſe I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard, *and* Longford, *and do intend to go to the reſt, leaving with ſome of the Miniſtry there, a few Rules touching thoſe things that are to be redreſſed, that if my health do not permit me to be always preſent, they may know how to proceed in my abſence. I find it to be true that* Tully *ſaith,* Juſtitia mirifica quædam res multitudini ; *and certainly to our proper work a great advantage it is to obtain a good opinion of thoſe we are to deal with. But beſides this there fall out occaſions to ſpeak of God and his preſence, of the Religion of a Witneſs, the danger of an Oath, the purity of a Marriage, the preciouſneſs of a good name, repairing of Churches, and the like. Penance it ſelf may be enjoyned, and Penitents reconciled, with ſome profit to others beſides themſelves.*

Wherefore, albeit Mr. Cooke *were the juſteſt Chancellour in this Kingdome, I would think it fit for me, as things now ſtand, to ſit in theſe Courts ; and the rather ſith I cannot be heard in the Pulpits to preach as I may in them : Albeit innocency and Juſtice is alſo a real kind of preaching. I have ſhewed your Grace my intentions in this matter. Now ſhould I require your direction in many things, if I were preſent with*

with you. But for the preſent it may pleaſe you to underſtand, that at Granard *one Mr.* Nugent, *a Nephew as I take it to my Lord of* Weſtmeath *delivered his Letter to Mr.* Aske, *which he delivered me in open Court, requiring that his Tenant might not be troubled for Chriſtnings, Marriages, or Funerals, ſo they pay the Miniſter his due. This referred to a Letter of my Lord Chancellors to the like purpoſe, which yet was not delivered till the Court was riſen. I anſwered generally, That none of my Lord's Tenants or others ſhould be wronged. The like motion was made at* Longford, *by two or three of the* Farralls, *and one Mr.* Fagarah, *and Mr.* Roſſe *to whom I gave the like anſwer, and added, That I would be ſtrict in requiring them to bring their Children to be* Baptized, *and Marriages to be ſolemnized likewiſe with us, ſith they acknowledged theſe to be lawful and true; ſo as it was but wilfulneſs if any forbare. Here I deſire your Grace to direct me. For to give way that they ſhould not be ſo much as called in queſtion, ſeems to further the Schiſm they labour to make To lay any pecuniary mulct upon them, as the value of a Licence for Marriage, three Pence or four Pence for a Chriſtning, I know not by what Law it can be done. To*

Excom-

Excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being already none of our body, and a multitude; it is to no profit, nay rather makes the exacerbation worſe.

Many things more I have to confer with your Grace about, which I hope to do coram; as about the re-edifying of Churches, or employing the Maſs-houſes, (which now the State inquires of) about Books, Teſtaments, and the Common Prayer Book, which being to be reprinted would perhaps be in ſome things bettered: But eſpecially about Men to uſe them; and Means to maintain them, now that our Engliſh *have engroſſed the Livings. About the printing the Pſalter, which I have cauſed to be diligently ſurveyed by Mr.* James Nangle, *who adviſeth not to meddle with the Verſe, but ſet forth only the Proſe: Which he hath begun to write out fair to the Preſs. Mr.* Murtagh King *I have not heard of a long time, I hope he goeth on in the Hiſtorical Books of the Old Teſtament. Mr.* Crian *was with me about a Forthnight after I came to* Kilmore; *ſince I heard not of him. Of all theſe things, if by the will of God, I may make a journey over to you, we ſhall ſpeak at full.*

As I was cloſing up theſe, this Morning, there is a complaint brought me from Ardagh, *That where in a cauſe Matrimoni-*

al

al in the Court at Longford, *a Woman had proceeded thus far, as after conteſtation, the Husband was enjoyned to appear the next Court to receive a Libel; one* Shaw-oge, *Mr.* Ingawry, *the Popiſh Vicar General of* Ardagh, *had excommunicated her, and ſhe was by one* Hubart, *and Mr.* Calril *a Prieſt upon* Sunday *laſt, put out of the Church and denounced excommunicate. Herein, whether it were more fit to proceed againſt the Vicar and Prieſt by vertue of the laſt Letters from the Counſil; or complain to them: I ſhall attend your Graces advice. And now for very ſhame ceaſing to be troubleſome, I do recommend your Grace to the protection of our merciful Father, and reſt, with my reſpective ſalutations to Mrs.* Uſher,

Kilmore, Feb. 15. 1629.

Your Grace's

in all duty,

Will. Kilmore & Ardaghen.

The

The other Biſhops did not ſtand by our Biſhop in this matter; but were contented to let him fall under Cenſure, without interpoſing in it as in a cauſe of common concern: Even the excellent Primate told him, The tide went ſo high that he could aſſiſt him no more; for he ſtood by him longer than any other of the Order had done. But the Biſhop was not diſheartened by this. And as he thanked him for aſſiſting him ſo long; ſo he ſaid he was reſolved by the help of God, to try if he could ſtand by himſelf. But he went home, and reſolved to go on in his Courts as he had begun, notwithſtanding this Cenſure. For he thought he was doing that which was incumbent on him, and he had a Spirit ſo made, that he reſolved to ſuffer Martyrdome, rather than fail in any thing that lay on his Conſcience. But his Chancellour was either adviſed by thoſe that governed the State, to give him no diſturbance in that matter; or was overcome by the authority he ſaw in him, that inſpired all people with reverence for him: For as he never called for the 100 Pound Coſts, ſo he never diſturbed him any more, but named a Surrogate, to whom he gave order

order to be in all things obſervant of the Biſhop, and obedient to him: So it ſeems, that though it was thought fit to keep up the Authority of the Lay Chancellours over *Ireland*, and not to ſuffer this Biſhop's practice to paſs into a Precedent; yet order was given under hand to let him go on as he had begun; and his Chancellour had ſo great a value for him, that many Years after this, he told my Author, That he thought there was not ſuch a Man on the face of the earth as Biſhop *Bedell* was; that he was too hard for all the Civilians in *Ireland*, and that if he had not been born down by meer force, he had overthrown the Conſiſtorial Courts, and had recovered the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction out of the Chancellours hands. But now that he went on undiſturbed in his Epiſcopal Court he made uſe of it as became him, and not as an Engine to raiſe his power and dominion; but conſidering that all Church power was for Edification, and not for Deſtruction, he both diſpenſed that Juſtice that belonged to his Courts equally and ſpeedily, and cut off many Fees and much expence, which made them be formerly ſo odious; and alſo when ſcandalous perſons were brought before

him to be cenſured, he conſidered that Church-Cenſures ought not to be like the acts of Tyrants, that puniſh out of revenge, but like the Diſcipline of Parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their Children: So he ſtudied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true ſenſe of their ſins. Many of the *Iriſh* Prieſts were brought oft into his Court for their lewdneſs; and upon that he took occaſion with great mildneſs, and without ſcoffing, or inſultings to make them ſenſible of that tyrannical impoſition in their Church, in denying their Prieſts leave to marry, which occaſioned ſo much impurity among them; and this had a good effect on ſome.

This leads me to another part of his Character, that muſt repreſent the care he took of the Natives; he obſerved with much regret that the *Engliſh* had all along neglected the *Iriſh*, as a Nation not only conquered but undiſciplineable: and that the Clergy had ſcarce conſidered them as a part of their Charge, but had left them wholly into the hands of their own Prieſts, without taking any other care of them, but the making them pay their Tythes. And indeed their Prieſts were a ſtrange ſort of people, that knew generally nothing but the

the reading their Offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them: and they taught the people nothing but the saying their *Paters* and *Aves* in Latin. So that the state both of the Clergy and Laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a Man that had so tender a sense of the value of those Souls that Christ had purchased with his Blood: therefore he resolved to set about that Apostolical work of converting the Natives with the zeal and care that so great understanding required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their Priests was like to be the quickest way; for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed Religion among the Natives; or rather of the Christian Religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their Priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they call sins, to them; and were to pay them Tythes. The Bishop prevailed on several Priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them to Ecclesiastical Benefices: which was thought a strange

thing, and was cenſured by many, as contrary to the intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation. For it was believed that all thoſe *Iriſh* Converts were ſtill Papiſts at Heart, and might be ſo much the more dangerous, than otherwiſe, by that diſguiſe which they had put on. But he on the other hand conſidered chiefly the duty of a Chriſtian Biſhop: he alſo thought the true intereſt of *England* was to gain the *Iriſh* to the knowledge of Religion, and to bring them by the means of that which only turns the heart to love the *Engliſh* Nation: And ſo he judged the wiſdom of that courſe was apparent, as well as the piety of it. Since ſuch as changed their Religion would become thereby ſo odious to their own Clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them: And he took great care to work in thoſe whom he truſted with the care of Souls, a full conviction of the truth of Religion, and a deep ſenſe of the importance of it. And in this he was ſo happy, That of all the Converts that he had raiſed to Benefices, there was but one only that fell back, when the Rebellion broke out: And he not only apoſtatized, but both plundered and killed the *Engliſh* among the firſt.

But

But no wonder if one murderer was among our Biſhop's Converts, ſince there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a Covent of Fryers very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good ſucceſs: That he might furniſh his converts with the means of inſtructing others, he made a ſhort Catechiſm to be printed in one ſheet, being *Engliſh* on the one Page, and *Iriſh* on the other; which contained the Elements, and moſt neceſſary things of the Chriſtian Religion, together with ſome forms of Prayer, and ſome of the moſt inſtructing and edifying paſſages of Scripture: This he ſent about all over his Dioceſs; and it was received with great joy, by many of the *Iriſh*, who ſeemed to be hungering and thirſting after Righteouſneſs, and received this beginning of knowledge ſo well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Biſhop did alſo ſet himſelf to learn the *Iriſh* Tongue; and though it was too late for a Man of his years to learn to ſpeak it, yet he came to underſtand it to ſuch a degree, as to compoſe a compleat Grammar of it, (which was the firſt that ever was made, as I have

been told) and to be a Critick in it: he alſo had Common Prayer read in *Iriſh* every *Sunday* in his Cathedral for the benefit of the Converts he had made, and was alwayes preſent at it himſelf, and he engaged all his Clergy to ſet up Schools in their Pariſhes; For there were ſo very few bred to read or write, that this obſtructed the converſion of the Nation very much. The New Teſtament and the Book of Common Prayer were already put in the *Iriſh* Tongue; but he reſolved to have the whole Bible, the *Old Teſtament* as well as the *New*, put alſo into the hands of the *Iriſh*; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that underſtood the Language ſo well that he might be imployed in ſo ſacred a work: And by the advice of the Primate, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, he pitched on one *King*, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest Writer of the *Iriſh* Tongue then alive, both for Proſe and Poetry. He was then about ſeventy, but notwithſtanding his age and the diſadvantages of his Education, yet the Biſhop thought him not only capable of this Imployment, but qualified for an higher character; therefore he put him in Orders, and gave him a Benefice in his

his Dioceſs, and ſet him to work, in order to the tranſlating the Bible: which he was to do from the *Engliſh* Tranſlation; ſince there were none of the Nation to be found that knew any thing of the Originals. The Biſhop ſet himſelf ſo much to the reviſing this Work, that alwayes after Dinner or Supper he read over a Chapter; and as he compared the *Iriſh* Tranſlation with the *Engliſh*, ſo he compared the *Engliſh* with the *Hebrew* and theSeventy Interpreters, or with *Diodati's Italian* Tranſlation, which he valued highly; and he corrected the *Iriſh* where he found the *Engliſh* Tranſlators had failed. He thought the uſe of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of Religion in among the *Iriſh*, as it had firſt let the Reformation into the other parts of *Europe*: And he uſed to tell a paſſage of a Sermon that he heard *Fulgentio* preach at *Venice*, with which he was much pleaſed: It was on theſe Words of Chriſt, *Have ye not read*; and ſo he took occaſion to tell the Auditory, That if Chriſt were now to ask this Queſtion, *Have ye not read?* all the Anſwer they could make to it, was, *No, for they were not ſuffered to do it.* Upon which he taxed with great zeal the re-

ſtraint put on the uſe of the Scriptures, by the See of *Rome*. This was not unlike what the ſame perſon delivered in another Sermon preaching upon *Pilate*'s Queſtion, *What is Truth?* he told them that at laſt after many ſearches he had found it out, and held out a New Teſtament, and ſaid, *There it was in his Hand*, but then he put it in his Pocket, and ſaid coldly, *But the Book is prohibited*; which was ſo ſuited to the *Italian* genius, that it took mightily with the Auditory. The Biſhop had obſerved that in the Primitive times as ſoon Nations, how barbarous ſoever they were, began to receive the Chriſtian Religion, they had the Scriptures tranſlated into their vulgar Tongues: And that all people were exhorted to ſtudy them; therefore he not only undertook and began this Work, but followed it with ſo much induſtry, that in a very few years he finiſhed the Tranſlation; and reſolved to ſet about the printing of it: for the bargain was made with one that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the Tranſlation, ſo he reſolved to run the venture of the Impreſſion, and took that expence upon himſelf. It is ſcarce to be imagined what

what could have obſtructed ſo great and ſo good a Work. The Prieſts of the Church of *Rome* had reaſon to oppoſe the printing of a Book, that has been always ſo fatal to them; but it was a deep fetch to poſſeſs reformed Divines with a jealouſie of this work, and with hard thoughts concerning it: Yet that was done; but by a very well diſguiſed method: For it was ſaid that the Tranſlator was a weak and contemptible Man, and that it would expoſe ſuch a work, as this was, to the ſcorn of the Nation, when it was known who was the Author of it: And this was infuſed both into the Earl of *Strafford*, and into the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: And a bold young Man pretended a lapſe of the Benefice that the Biſhop had given to the Tranſlator, and ſo obtained a Broad Seal for it; though it was in the Biſhop's Gift. This was an abuſe too common at that time, for licentious Clerks to pretend either that an Incumbent was dead, or that he had no good right to his Benefice, or that he had forfeited it; and upon that to procure a Grant of it from the King, and then to turn the Incumbent out of Poſſeſſion, and to vex him with a Suit till they forced him to compound for his peace. So upon this occaſion

occaſion it was pretended that the Tranſlator had forfeited his Living; and one *Baily* that had informed againſt him, came down with a Grant of it under the great Seal, and violently thruſt him out of it. The Biſhop was much touched with this, and cited *Baily* to appear before him. He had given him a Vicarage, and had taken an Oath of him never to hold another; ſo he objected to him both his violent and unjuſt intruſion into another man's right, and his Perjury. *Baily* to cover himſelf from the laſt, procured a Diſpenſation from the Prerogative Court, notwithſtanding his Oath, to hold more Benefices. The Biſhop lookt on this as one of the worſt and moſt ſcandalous parts of Popery, to diſſolve the moſt ſacred of all Bonds; and it grieved his Soul to ſee ſo vile a thing acted in the name of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, though it was done by his Subrogates: So without any regard to this he ſerved this obſtinate Clerk with ſeveral Canonical admonitions; but finding him ſtill hardned in his wickedneſs, he deprived him of the Benefice he had given him, and alſo excommunicat'd him, and gave orders that the Sentence ſhould be publiſhed through the whole Deanry: upon which *Baily*'s Clerk appealed to the

Prerogative

Prerogative Court, and the Biſhop was cited to anſwer for what he had done. He went and appeared before them, but declined their Authority, and would not anſwer to them. He thought it below the Office and Dignity of a Biſhop to give an account of a ſpiritual Cenſure, that he had inflicted on one of his Clergy, before two Laymen that pretended to be the Primate's Surrogates; and he put his Declinator in 24 Articles, all written with his own Hand, which will be found at the end of this Narrative: he excepted to the incompetency of the Court, both becauſe the Primate was not there in perſon, and becauſe they that ſate there had given clear Evidences of their partiality, which he had offered to prove to the Primate himſelf. He ſaid the appeal from his Sentence lay only to the Provincial Synod, or to the Archbiſhop's Conſiſtory; and ſince the ground of *Baily's* Appeal, was the diſpenſation that they had given him from his Oath, they could not be the competent Judges of that, for they were Parties: And the Appeal from abuſive faculties lay only to a Court of Delegates by the expreſs words of the Law: And by many Indications it appeared, that they had prejudged the matter in *Baily's* favours, and had expreſſed

See at the end, Numb. 3.

preſſed great reſentments againſt the Biſhop; and notwithſtanding the dignity of his Office, they had made him wait among the croud an hour and an half, and had given directions in the management of the Cauſe as Parties againſt him; they had alſo manifeſtly abuſed their power in granting Diſpenſations contrary to the Laws of God: and now they preſumed to interpoſe in the juſt and legal Juriſdiction that a Biſhop exerciſed over his Clergy both by the Laws of God and by the Kings Authority. Upon theſe grounds he excepted to their Authority; he was ſerved with ſeveral Citations to anſwer, and appeared upon every one of them: but notwithſtanding the higheſt contempts they put upon him, he ſhewed no indecent paſſion, but kept his ground ſtill. In concluſion he was declared *Contumax*, and the perjured Intruder was abſolved from the Sentence, and confirmed in the poſſeſſion of his ill-acquired Benefice. It may be eaſily imagined, how much theſe Proceedings were cenſured by all fair and equitable Men: The conſtancy, the firmneſs, and the courage that the Biſhop expreſſed being as much commended, as the injuſtice and violence of his Enemies was cryed out upon. The

ſtrangeſt

ſtrangeſt part of this tranſaction was, that which the Primate acted, who though he loved the Biſhop beyond all the reſt of the Order, and valued him highly for the zealous diſcharge of his office, that diſtinguiſhed him ſo much from others; yet he could not be prevailed on to interpoſe in this matter; nor to ſtop the injuſt Proſecution that this good Man had fallen under, for ſo good a Work. Indeed it went further, for upon the endeavours he uſed to convert the *Iriſh*; and after he had refuſed to anſwer in the Archbiſhop's Court, it appears that he was in ſome meaſure alienated from him, which drew from the Biſhop the following Anſwer to a Letter, that he had from him.

Moſt

Moſt Reverend Father, my
honourable good Lord,

THE Superſcription of your Grace's Letters was moſt welcome unto me, as bringing under your own hand the beſt evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did and do give hearty thanks unto God. For the Contents of them, as your Grace conceived, They were not ſo pleaſant. But the Words of a Friend are faithful, *ſaith the Wiſe Man: Sure they are no leſs painful than any other. Unkindneſs cuts nearer to the Heart than Malice can do. I have ſome experience by your Grace's ſaid Letters, concerning which I have been at ſome debate with my ſelf, whether I ſhould anſwer them with* David's *demand,* What have I now done? *or as the wrongs of Parents, with Patience and Silence. But Mr. Dean telling me, That this day he is going towards you, I will ſpeak once, come of it what will.*

"*You write that the courſe I took with* "*the Papiſts, was generally cryed out* "*againſt, neither do you remember in all*

"*your*

"your life that any thing was done here "by any of us, at which the Profeſſors of "the Goſpel did take more offence, or by "which the Adverſaries were more con- "firmed in their Superſtitions and Idola- "try; wherein you could wiſh that I had "adviſed with my Brethren before I would "adventure to pull down that which they "have been ſo long a building. Again, "What I did, you know, was done out of "a good intention; but you were aſſured "that my project would be ſo quickly re- "futed with the preſent ſucceſs and event, "that there would be no need my Friends "ſhould adviſe me from building ſuch "Caſtles in the air, &c.

My Lord, All this is a riddle to me. What courſe I have taken with the Papiſts; what I have done at which your Profeſſors of the Goſpel did take ſuch offence, or the Adverſaries were ſo confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to do; or what piece ſo long a building, I have pulled down; what thoſe Projects were, and thoſe Caſtles in the air ſo quickly refuted with preſent ſucceſs, as the Lords knows, I know not. For truly ſince I came to this place I have not changed one jot of my purpoſe or practice, or courſe with Papiſts from that which I held in England, or in Tri-

Trinity Colledge, *or found (I thank God) any ill ſucceſs, but the ſlanders only of ſome perſons diſcontented againſt me for other occaſions. Againſt which I cannot hope to juſtifie my ſelf, if your Grace will give ear to private informations. But let me know, I will not ſay, my Accuſer, (let him continue masked till God diſcover him) but my Tranſgreſſion, and have place of defence; and if mine Adverſary write a Book againſt me, I will hope to bear it on my Shoulder, and bind it to me as a Crown.*

For my recuſation of your Court, and advertiſement of what I heard thereof, I ſee they have ſtirred not only laughter, but ſome coals too. Your Chancellour deſires me to acquit him to you, That he is none of thoſe Officers I meant; I do it very willingly: For I neither meant him nor any Man elſe. But though it concerned your Grace to know what I credibly heard to be ſpoken concerning your Court; neither, as God knows, did I ever think it was fit to take away the Juriſdiction from Chancellours, and put it into the Biſhops hands alone; or ſo much as in a dream condemn thoſe that think they have reaſon to do otherwiſe, nor tax your Grace's Viſitation: Nor imagine you would account that to pertain to your reproof, and take it as

a wrong from me, which out of my duty to God and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. I beſeech you pardon me this one errour, Si unquam poſthac *—For that knave whom (as your Grace writes) they ſay I did abſolve; I took him for one of my Flock, or rather Chriſts, for whom he ſhed his blood. And I would have abſolved* Julian *the Apoſtate under the ſame form. Some other paſſages there be in your Grace's Letters, which I,—— but I will lay mine Hand upon my Mouth and craving the bleſſing of your prayers, ever remain,*

Your Grace's

poor Brother,

& humble ſervant,

Will. Kilmore.

Kilmore, March 29. 1630.

The malice of Mr. *King*'s Enemies was not ſatiated with the ſpoiling him of his Benefice. For often it falls out, That thoſe who have done acts of high injuſtice ſeek ſome excuſe for what they have done, by new injuries, and a vexatious proſecution of the injured perſon, deſigning by the noiſe, that ſuch repeated accuſations might raiſe, to poſſeſs the World with an Opinion of his guilt, which much clamour does often produce: and ſo to cruſh the perſon ſo entirely that he may never again be in a capacity to recover himſelf, and to obtain his right, but be quite ſunk by that vaſt encreaſe of weight that is laid upon him. But I will give the Reader a clearer view of this invidious affair from a Letter which the Biſhop writ concerning it to the Earl of *Strafford*.

Right

Right honourable,
my good Lord.

THat which I have ſometimes done willingly, I do now neceſſarily, to make my addreſs to your Honour by writing. My unfitneſs for converſation heretofore hath pleaded for me, and now your Lordſhip's infirmity allows, and in a ſort inforces it. The occaſion is, not my love of contention (which I have committed to God) or any other matter of profit, but God's honour, and (as he is witneſs) yours. I have lately received Letters from my Lord of Canterbury; *whereby I perceive his Grace is informed that Mr.* King, *whom I imployed to tranſlate the Bible into* Iriſh, *is a Man ſo ignorant that the Tranſlation cannot be worthy publick uſe in the Church, and beſides, obnoxious, ſo as the Church can receive no credit from any thing that is his. And his Grace adds, That he is ſo well acquainted with your Lordſhip's diſpoſition, that he aſſures himſelf you would not have given away his Living, had you not ſeen juſt cauſe for it. I account my ſelf bound to ſatisfie his Grace herein, and deſire, if I may be ſo*

happy, to do it by ſatisfying you. I do ſubſcribe to his Grace's aſſured perſwaſion that your Lordſhip, had you not conceived Mr. King *to be ſuch as he writes, would not have given away his Living. But (my Lord) the greateſt, wiſeſt, and juſteſt Men do, and muſt take many things upon the information of others; who themſelves are Men, and may ſometimes out of weakneſs, or ſome other cauſe, be deceived. Touching Mr.* King's *ſillineſs, (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted ſilly my ſelf) I beſeech your Lordſhip to take information, not by them which never ſaw him till yeſterday, but by the ancient either Church-or State-ſmen of this Kingdom (in whoſe eyes he hath lived theſe many Years) as are the Lord Primate, The Biſhop of* Meath, *the Lord* Dillon, *Sir* James Ware, *and the like: I doubt not but your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand that there is no ſuch danger that the Tranſlation ſhould be unworthy, becauſe he did it; being a Man of that known ſufficiency, for the* Iriſh *eſpecially, either in Proſe or Verſe, as few are his matches in the Kingdom. And ſhortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, Let the Work it ſelf ſpeak, yea let it be examined* rigoroſo examine: *If it be found approveable, let it not ſuffer diſgrace from the*

the ſmall boaſt of the Workman, but let him rather (as old Sophocles *accuſed of dotage) be abſolved for the ſufficiency of the Work. Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a ſcandalous Information put in againſt him in the High Commiſſion Court, by his deſpoiler Mr.* Baily *(as my Lord of* Derry *told him in my hearing he was) and by an excommunicate deſpoiler, as my ſelf before the Execution of any ſentence, declar'd him in the Court to be. And Mr.* King *being cited to anſwer, and not appearing, (as by Law he was not bound) was taken* pro confeſſo, *deprived of his Miniſtry, and Living, Fined an hundred Pound, Decreed to be attached, and impriſoned. His Adverſary Mr.* Baily, *before he was ſentenced, purchaſed a new Diſpenſation to hold his Benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of the Inſtitution) both preſented in the King's Title (although the Benefice be of my Collation) and inſtituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar: Shortly after inducted by an Archdeacon of another Dioceſs, and a few dayes after, he brought down an Attachment, and delivered Mr.* King *to the Purſevant: He was haled by the Head and Feet to Horſeback; and brought to* Dublin, *where he hath been kept, and continued under Arreſt theſe four or five Months:*

and hath not been ſuffered to purge his ſuppoſed Contempt, by Oath and Witneſſes, that by reaſon of his ſickneſs he was hindered, whereby he was brought to Death's Door, and could not appear and proſecute his defence: And that by the cunning of his Adverſary he was circumvented, intreating that he might be reſtored to liberty, and his cauſe into the former eſtate. But it hath not availed him: my Reverend Colleagues of the High Commiſſion do ſome of them pity his Caſe, others ſay the Sentence paſt cannot be reverſed, leſt the credit of the Court be attached. They bid him ſimply ſubmit himſelf, and acknowledge his Sentence juſt. Whereas the Biſhops of Rome *themſelves, after moſt formal proceedings, do grant reſtitution in* integrum, *and acknowledge, That,* Sententia Romanæ Sedis poteſt in melius commutari. *My Lord, if I underſtand what is Right Divine or humane, theſe be wrongs upon wrongs; which if they reached only to Mr.* King's *perſon, were of leſs conſideration; but when through his ſide, That great Work, the Tranſlation of God's Book, ſo neceſſary for both his Majeſty's Kingdoms, is mortally wounded; pardon me (I beſeech your Lordſhip) if I be ſenſible of it. I omit to conſider what feaſt our adverſaries make of our rewarding him thus for that ſervice; or*

what

what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What ſhould your Lordſhip have gained if he had dyed (as it was almoſt a miracle he did not) under Arreſt, and had been at once deprived of Living, Liberty and Life. God hath reprieved him, and given your Lordſhip means upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniencies. For concluſion (good my Lord) give me leave a little to apply the Parable of Nathan *to King* David *to this purpoſe: If the way-faring man, that is come to us (for ſuch he is, having never yet been ſettled in one place) have ſo ſharp a Stomach that he muſt be provided for with Pluralities, ſith there are Herds and Flocks plenty; ſuffer him not, I beſeech you, under the colour of the King's name to take the coſet Ewe of a poor Man, to ſatiſfie his ravenous appetite. So I beſeech the Heavenly Phyſician to give your Lordſhip health of Soul and Body. I reſt,*

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt humble ſervant

in Chriſt Jeſus,

Will. Kilmore.

Decemb. 1. 1638.

By theſe practices was the printing of the Bible in *Iriſh* ſtopt at that time, but if the Rebellion had not prevented our Biſhop, he was reſolved to have had it done in his own Houſe, and at his own charge; and as preparatory to that, he made ſome of *Chryſoſtome*'s Homilies, the three firſt upon the parable of the rich Man and *Lazarus*, together with ſome of *Leo*'s; all which tended chiefly to commend the Scriptures in the higheſt ſtrains of Eloquence that were poſſible, to be tranſlated both into *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*; and reprinting his Catechiſm, he added theſe to it in both Languages: and theſe were very well received, even by the Prieſts and Friers themſelves.

He lived not to finiſh this great deſign; yet, notwithſtanding the Rebellion and confuſion that followed in *Ireland*, the Manuſcript of the Tranſlation of the Bible eſcaped the ſtorm, and falling into good Hands, it is at this time under the Preſs, and is carried on chiefly by the zeal, and at the charge of that Noble Chriſtian Philoſopher Mr. *Boyle*, who as he reprinted upon his own charge the new Teſtament, ſo he very cheerfully went into a Propo-

ſition

ſition for reprinting the Old. But this is only one of many inſtances, by which he has expreſſed, as well his great and active zeal for carrying on the true intereſt of Religion, as by his other publick labours he has advanced and improved Philoſophy.

But to go on with the concerns of our Biſhop, as he had great zeal for the purity of the Chriſtian Religion in oppoſition to the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; ſo he was very moderate in all other matters, that were not of ſuch importance. He was a great ſupporter of Mr. *Dury*'s deſign of reconciling the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts*; and as he directed him by many learned and prudent Letters, that he wrote to him on that ſubject, ſo he allowed him 20*l.* a year in order to the diſcharging the expence of that negotiation; which he payed punctually to his Correſpondent at *London*. And it appeared by his managing of a buſineſs that fell out in *Ireland*, That if all that were concerned in that matter, had been bleſt with ſuch an underſtanding, and ſuch a temper as he had, there had been no reaſon to have deſpaired of it. There came a company of *Lutherans* to *Dublin*, who were afraid of joyning

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in Communion with the Church of *Ireland*, and when they were cited to anſwer for it to the Archbiſhop's Conſiſtory, they deſired ſome time might be granted them for conſulting their Divines in *Germany*: And at laſt Letters were brought from thence concerning their Exceptions to Communion with that Church; Becauſe the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament was not explained in ſuch a manner, as agreed with their Doctrine. The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* ſent theſe to our Biſhop, that he might anſwer them; and upon that he writ ſo learned and ſo full an anſwer to all their Objections, and explained the matter ſo clearly, that when this was ſeen by the *German* Divines, it gave them ſuch entire ſatisfaction, that upon it they adviſed their Countreymen to join in Communion with the Church. For ſuch is the moderation of our Church in that matter, that no poſitive definition of the manner of the Preſence being made, Men of different ſentiments may agree in the ſame acts of Worſhip, without being obliged to declare their Opinion, or being underſtood to do any thing contrary to their ſeveral Perſwaſions.

His

His moderation in this matter was a thing of no danger to him, but he expreſſed it on other inſtances, in which it appeared that he was not afraid to own it upon more tender occaſions. The Troubles that broke out in *Scotland* upon the account of the Book of Common Prayer, which encreaſed to the height of the ſwearing the Covenant and putting down of Epiſcopacy, and the turning out of all Clergy Men that did not concur with them, are ſo well known, that I need not inlarge upon them. It is not to be denyed but provocations were given by the heats and indiſcretions of ſome Men; but theſe were carried ſo far beyond all the bounds either of Order in the Church, or Peace in the State, that, to give things their proper names, it was a Schiſmatical rage againſt the Church, backt with a rebellious fury againſt the State. When the Biſhop heard of all theſe things, he ſaid, that which *Nazianzene* ſaid at *Conſtantinople*, when the ſtir was raiſed in the ſecond General Council upon his account, *If this great tempeſt is riſen for our ſakes, take us up, and caſt us into the Sea, that ſo there may be a Calm.* And if all others had governed their Dioceſ-

ſes,

ſes, as he did his, one may adventure to affirm after Dr. *Bernard*, *That Epiſcopacy might have been kept ſtill upon its Wheels.* Some of thoſe that were driven out of *Scotland*, by the fury of that time, came over to *Ireland*: among theſe there was one *Corbet*, that came to *Dublin*, who being a Man of quick Parts, writ a very ſmart Book, ſhewing the parallel between the Jeſuites and the *Scotch* Covenanters, which he printed under the Title of *Lyſimachus Nicanor*. The Spirit that was in this Book, and the ſharpneſs of the ſtile procured the Author ſuch favour, that a conſiderable Living falling in the Biſhop of *Kyllala*'s Gift, he was recommended to it, and ſo he went to that Biſhop; but was ill received by him. The Biſhop had a great affection to his Countrey (for he was a *Scotchman* born) and though he condemned the courſes they had taken, yet he did not love to ſee them expoſed in a ſtrange Nation, and did not like the Man that had done it. The Biſhop was a little ſharp upon him; he played on his Name: *Corby* in *Scotch* being a Raven, and ſaid it was an ill Bird that defiled its own Neſt. And whereas he had ſaid in his Book, That he had hardly eſcaped with his own

own life, but had left his Wife behind him to try the humanity of the *Scots*; he told him, He had left his Wife to a very baſe office. Several other things he ſaid, which in themſelves amounted to nothing, but only expreſſed an inclination to leſſen the faults of the *Scots*, and to aggravate ſome provocations that had been given them. *Corbet* came up full of wrath, and brought with him many Informations againſt the Biſhop, which at any other time would not have been much conſidered; but then, it being thought neceſſary to make examples of all that ſeemed favourable to the Covenanters, it was reſolved to turn him out of his Biſhoprick, and to give it to *Maxwell*, that had been Biſhop of *Roſſe* in *Scotland*, and was indeed a Man of eminent parts, and an excellent Preacher; but by his forwardneſs and aſpiring he had been the unhappy inſtrument of that which brought on all the diſorders in *Scotland*.

A Purſevant was ſent to bring up the Biſhop of *Killala*; and he was accuſed before the high Commiſſion Court for thoſe things that *Corbet* objected to him; and every Man being ready to puſh a Man down that is falling under diſgrace, many deſigned to merit by aggravating

gravating his faults. But when it came to our Biſhop's turn to give his Sentence in the Court, he that was afraid of nothing but ſinning againſt God, did not ſtick to venture againſt the Stream: he firſt read over all that was objected to the Biſhop at the Barr, then he fetched his Argument from the qualifications of a Biſhop ſet down by S. *Paul* in his Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*; and aſſumed that he found nothing in thoſe Articles contrary to thoſe qualifications; nothing that touched either his Life or Doctrine. He fortified this by ſhewing in what manner they proceeded againſt Biſhops both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, and ſo concluded in the Biſhops favour. This put many out of countenance, who had conſidered nothing in his Sentence but the conſequences that were drawn from the Biſhop's expreſſions, from which they gathered the ill diſpoſition of his mind, ſo that they had gone high in their Cenſures, without examining the Canons of the Church in ſuch Caſes. But though thoſe that gave their Votes after our Biſhop, were more moderate than thoſe that had gone before him had been; yet the current run ſo ſtrong that none durſt plainly acquit him, as our

our Biſhop had done: So he was deprived, fined, and impriſoned, and his Biſhoprick was given to *Maxwell*, who enjoyed it not long. For he was ſtript naked, wounded, and left among the dead, by the *Iriſh*; but he was preſerved by the Earl of *Tomond*, who paſſing that way took care of him; ſo that he got to *Dublin*. And then his Talent of Preaching, that had been too long neglected by him, was better imployed; ſo that he preached very often, and very much to the edification of his Hearers, that were then in ſo great a conſternation, that they needed all the comfort that he could miniſter to them; and all the Spirit that he could infuſe in them. He went to the King to *Oxford*, and he ſaid in my Author's hearing, That the King had never rightly underſtood the innate hatred that the *Iriſh* bore to all that profeſſed the true Religion, till he had informed him of it. But he was ſo much affected with an ill piece of News, that he heard concerning ſome misfortune in the King's affairs in *England*, that he was ſome hours after found dead in his Study. This ſhort digreſſion, I hope, may be forgiven me; for the perſon was very extraordinary, if an unmeaſured ambi-

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tion had not much defaced his other great abilities and excellent qualities.

The old degraded Biſhop *Adair* was quickly reſtored to another Biſhoprick, which came to be vacant upon a diſmal account, which I would gladly paſs over, if I could; for the thing is but too well known. One *Adderton* Biſhop of *Waterford*, who, as was believed, had by a Symoniacal compact procured ſuch favour, that he was recommended to that Biſhoprick; and had covered his own unworthineſs, as all wicked Men are apt to do, by ſeeming very zealous in every thing that is acceptable to thoſe who govern, and had been in particular very ſevere on Biſhop *Adair*; came to be accuſed and convicted of a crime not to be named, that God puniſhed with fire from Heaven; and ſuffered publickly for it: He expreſſed ſo great a repentance, that Dr. *Bernard*, who preached his funeral Sermon, and had waited on him in his Impriſonment, had a very charitable opinion of the ſtate in which he dyed. Upon this, *Adair*'s Caſe was ſo repreſented to the King, that he was provided with that Biſhoprick. From which it may appear, That he was not cenſured ſo much for any guilt, as to ſtrike a terrour in all that

that might expreſs the leaſt kindneſs to the *Scotch* Covenanters. But our Biſhop thought the degrading of a Biſhop was too ſacred a thing to be done meerly upon politick Conſiderations.

Biſhop *Bedell* was exactly conformable to the Forms and Rules of the Church; he went conſtantly to Common Prayer in his Cathedral, and often read it himſelf, and aſſiſted in it always, with great reverence and affection. He took care to have the Publick Service performed ſtrictly according to the Rubrick; ſo that a Curate of another Pariſh being imployed to read Prayers in the Cathedral, that added ſomewhat to the Collects; the Biſhop obſerving he did this once or twice, went from his place to the Reader's Pew, and took the book out of his Hand, and in the hearing of the Congregation ſuſpended him for his preſumption, and read the reſt of the Office himſelf. He preached conſtantly twice a *Sunday* in his Cathedral on the Epiſtles and Goſpels for the Day; and catechiſed alwayes in the Afternoon before Sermon; and he preached always twice a Year before the Judges, when they made the Circuit. His Voice was low and mournful, but as his matter

was excellent, ſo there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that ſtruck his Auditors. He obſerved the Rubrick ſo nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; ſo that in the reading the Pſalms and the Anthems he did not obſerve the common cuſtome of the Miniſter and the People reading the Verſes by turns; for he read all himſelf, becauſe the other was not enjoyned by the Rubrick. As for the placing of the Communion Table by the Eaſt wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the Rule of obſerving the Conformity preſcribed by Law; for he ſaid, That they were as much Nonconformiſts who added of their own, as they that came ſhort of what was enjoyned; as he that adds an Inch to a meaſure diſowns it for a Rule, as much as he that cuts an Inch from it: and as he was ſevere to him that added Words of his own to the Collect, ſo he thought it was no leſs cenſurable to add Rites to thoſe that were preſcribed. When he came within the Church, it appeared in the compoſedneſs of his behaviour, that he obſerved the Rule given by the Preacher, of *Keeping his Feet when he went into the Houſe of God*; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatneſs of any

any Man, or by the Authority of any perſons example, to go out of his own way; though he could not but know that ſuch things were then much obſerved, and meaſures were taken of Men by theſe little diſtinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of Conformity diſcovered it ſelf.

There is ſo full an account of the tenderneſs with which he adviſed all Men, but Churchmen in particular, to treat thoſe that differed from them, in a Sermon that he preached on thoſe Words of Chriſt, *Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly*; that I am aſſured the Reader will well bear with the length of it. It was preached ſoon after ſome heats that had been in the Houſe of Commons in the Parliament of *Ireland*, in which there were many Papiſts; and in it the ſenſe he had of the way of treating all differences in Religion, whether great or ſmall, is ſo well laid down, that I hope it will be looked on as no ordinary, nor uſeleſs piece of Inſtruction.

IS it not a ſhame that our two Bodies, the Church and Commonwealth, ſhould exerciſe mortal hatreds, (or immortal rather) and being ſo near in place ſhould be ſo far aſunder in affection? it will be ſaid by each that other are in fault, and perhaps it may truly be ſaid, that both are; the one in that they cannot endure with patience the lawful ſuperiority of the worthier Body; the other in that they take no care ſo to govern, that the governed may find it to be for their beſt behoof to obey: until which time it will never be, but there will be repining and troubles, and brangles between us. This will be done in my Opinion, not by bolſtering out and maintaining the errours and unrulineſs of the lower Officers or Members of our body, but by ſeverely puniſhing them; and on both ſides muſt be avoided ſuch Men for Magiſtrates and Miniſters, as ſeek to daſh us one againſt another all they may.

And would to God this were all; but is it not a ſhame of ſhames, that Mens emulations and contentions cannot ſtay themſelves

themſelves in matters of this ſort, but the holy profeſſion of Divinity is made fuel to a publick fire; and that when we had well hoped all had been either quenched or raked up, it ſhould afreſh be kindled and blown up with bitter and biting Words? God help us! we had need to attend to this Leſſon of Chriſt, *Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in Heart*; or to that of the Apoſtle, It behoves the ſervant of God not to contend, but to be meek towards all, inſtructing with lenity thoſe that be contrary affected, waiting if at any time God will give them a better mind to ſee the truth, 2 *Tim.* 2. 25.

And here give me leave (*R. W.* and beloved Brethren and Siſters) to ſpeak freely my mind unto you: I know right well that I ſhall incur the reproof of divers, yet I will never the more for that ſpare to utter my Conſcience; I hope wiſe Men will aſſent or ſhew me better. For my part, I have been long of this mind, that many in their Sermons and Writings are to blame for their manner of dealing with the adverſaries of their Opinions, when they give Reins to their Tongues and Pens, to railing and reproachful Speeches, and think they have done well, when they

exceed or equal them in this Trade; wherein to have the better is indeed to be the worſe: and alledging that Text for themſelves, *That a fool is to be anſwered according to his folly*; they do not conſider that other, where ſuch manner of anſwer is forbidden, whereby the anſwerer becometh like him: *Prov.* 26. 4. 15. 1. 24. 26.

Prov. 26. 5.

And this is yet more to be blamed, becauſe ſometimes all reaſons are laid by, and nothing is ſoundly refuted, but only hot Words are given, yea, and with a miſconceiving, or miſreporting at leaſt, of ther Opinions, and making every thing worſe than it is: which many times ariſeth upon ambiguity of Words not uſed in the like ſenſe by both ſides. What then? Do I approve of tolerations and unions with errours and hereſies? truly I wiſh not to live ſo long. And yet as our ſins are, and our folly too to fall together by the Ears about ſmall matters amongſt our ſelves, there is juſt cauſe to fear it: but yet ſuch Points as may be reconciled, ſaving the truth, I ſee not what ſhould move us to hold off in them, and why we may not ſeek to agree in word? as we do in meaning: For the reſt, their purpoſe and endeavours ſhall deſerve thanks, who,

bring-

bringing them to the feweſt and narroweſt terms, ſhall ſet down how far we are to joyn with our diſſenting Brethren, and where for ever to diſſent; that ſo controverſies being handled without the vain flouriſh of ſwelling Words, and (like proportions) our Opinions being ſet down in the leaſt terms, Men may know what to bend their Wits to, and where againſt to plant their Arguments, not, as many do, roving always at randome; but may alwayes remember to imitate Chriſt's meekneſs, and to deal with Arguments rather: let us not envy the Papiſts and other Hereticks, the glory and preheminence in railing, wherein the more they excel, the more unlike they are to Chriſt, whoſe pattern is of meekneſs, *Learn of me*, &c.

Tea, but will ſome Man ſay, This courſe will not ſtay Men from backſliding to any errour or hereſie, &c. *Who can keep off his enemy without ſhot*, &c. *Object.*

I. Gods Truth needs not to be graced, nor his Glory ſought by my ſin. *Reſp.* 1.

II. Again it is ſo perhaps in an ignorant Auditor, and at the firſt; but if inquiring himſelf, he ſhall find that they or their Opinions are not ſo bad as we make them to be, and would have them *Reſp.* 2.

ſeem, it will be a hundred to one that in other things too, they will not ſeem to be ſo bad as they are; and, unleſs I much miſtake, it is not the ſtorm of Words, but the ſtrength of Reaſons, that ſhall ſtay a wavering Judgment from errours, *&c.* when that like a tempeſt, is overblown, the tide of others examples will carry other men to do as the moſt do; but theſe like ſo many Anchors will ſtick, and not come again.

Reſp. 3. III. Beſides, our Calling is to deal with errours, not to diſgrace the Man with ſcolding Words. It is ſaid of *Alexander*, I think, when he overheard one of his Souldiers railing luſtily on *Darius* his enemy, he reproved him, and added, Friend (quoth he) I entertain thee to fight againſt *Darius*, not to revile him. Truly it may be well thought that thoſe that take this courſe ſhall find but ſmall thanks at Chriſt's, our Captains, hands; and it is not unlike but he would ſay to them, were he here on earth again, Maſters, I would you ſhould refute Popery, and ſet your ſelves againſt Antichriſt my enemy, with all the diſcoloured Sects and Hereſies, that fight under his banner againſt me, and not call him and his Troops all to nought. And

And this is my poor Opinion concerning our dealing with the Papiſts themſelves, perchance differing from the practice of Men of great note in Chriſt's Family, Mr. *Luther* and Mr. *Calvin*, and others; but yet we muſt live by Rules, not examples; and they were Men, who perhaps by complexion, or otherwiſe, were given over too much to anger, and heat: ſure I am, the Rule of the Apoſtle is plain, even of ſuch as are the ſlaves of Satan, that we muſt with lenity inſtruct them, waiting that when eſcaping out of his ſnare, they ſhould recover a ſound mind to do Gods will, in the place I quoted before. 2 Tim. 2. 25.

But now when Men agreeing with our ſelves in the main (yea and in profeſſion likewiſe enemies to Popery) ſhall, varying never ſo little from us in Points of leſs conſequence, be thereupon cenſured as favourers of Popery, and other errours; when Mole-hills ſhall be made Mountains, and unbrotherly terms given: alas! methinks this courſe ſavours not of meekneſs, nay it would hurt even a good cauſe, thus to handle it; for where ſuch violence is, ever there is errour to be ſuſpected; Affection and Hate are the greateſt enemies that can be to ſoundneſs of judgment,

ment, or exactneſs of comprehenſion; he that is troubled with paſſion, is not fitly diſpoſed to judge of truth.

Beſides, Is my conceit ever conſonant with truth? and if I be ſubject to errour my ſelf, have I forgotten ſo much the common condition of mankind, or am I ſo much my own enemy, as to purſue with a terrible Scourge of Whipcord, or wyer, that which was worthy of ſome gentler laſhes: for indeed he that taketh pet, and conceiveth indignation, that another ſhould, I will not ſay, differ from himſelf, but err, and be deceived, ſeems to proclaim war to all mankind, and may well look himſelf to find ſmall favour, but rather to endure the Law that he had made, and be bated with his own rod.

To make an end of this point, which I would to God, I had not had an occaſion to enter into: if this precept of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be to be heard, theſe things ſhould not be ſo; if it were heard, they would not be ſo; and undoubtedly, if it be not heard, they that are faulty ſhall bear their judgment, whoſoever they be. Mean while they ſhall deſerve great praiſe of all that love Peace, who ſhall maintain quietneſs, even with ſome injury to themſelves:

And

And in a good Cauſe do ſtill endeavour to ſhew forth the vertue of Chriſt, that hath called us, as the Apoſtle *Peter* exhorteth us at large from this example of Chriſt, in his firſt Epiſtle, 21. 20, 21, 22, 23. It is the glory of a Man to paſs by an offence. Injuries, if by regarding them a man lay himſelf open to them, wound and hurt us: if they be contemned, or born off with the Shield of Meekneſs, they glance off, or rebound unto the party that offereth them. Prov. 19. 11.

Finally, he that in matters of controverſie ſhall bring meekneſs to his defence, undoubtedly he ſhall overcome in the manner of handling; and if he bring truth alſo, he ſhall prevail at laſt in the matter.

This is a part of one of his Sermons; of which I have ſeen but very few; and becauſe they are not ſufficient to give a full Character of him, I have not publiſhed them: But I will add to this two parcells of another Sermon that is already in print, and was publiſhed by Dr. *Bernard*, the Text is that of the *Revelation* 18. 4. *Come out of her* (Babylon) *my people*: And the deſign of it is to prove that the See of *Rome* is the

Babylon

Babylon meant in that Text; but in this he mixes an Apology for ſome that were in that Communion; and I doubt not but he had his Friend *P. Paulo* in his thoughts when he ſpoke it: The paſſage is remarkable, and therefore I will ſet it down.

WHerein obſerve firſt, (he calls *his people to come out of* Babylon,) a plain Argument that there are many not only good *Moral* and *Civil honeſt* Men there, but good *Chriſtians*, not redeemed only, but in the poſſeſſion of the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which may be confirmed by theſe reaſons.

Firſt, There is amongſt theſe that are under the tyranny of the *Romiſh* Babylon, the *Sacrament of entrance* into the Covenant of Grace; *Baptiſm*, by which thoſe that are partakers thereof are *made Members of Chriſt, the Children of God, and Heirs of Eternal Life*: And theſe that have but this Seal of God's Covenant, (*viz.* Infants) are no ſmall and contemptible part of God's people, though as yet, they cannot hear this

this Voice of Chriſt calling out of *Babylon*; beſides this there is a *publication of the tenure of the Covenant of Grace* to ſuch as are of Years, though not ſo *openly* and *purely* as it might and ought, yet ſo as the *grounds of the Catechiſme* are preached, ſin is ſhewed, Chriſt's redemption (or the Story of it) is known, Faith in him is called for, and this Faith is by the *Grace* of God, *wrought* in ſome: For the Word of God and his Calling is not fruitleſs, but like the *rain* returneth not in vain; and where true Faith is, *Men are tranſlated from death to life, he that believeth in the Son, hath everlaſting life.* John 3.18. 36. 5.24. John 3. *ult.*

Some Men perhaps may object, the Faith which they deſcribe and call by this name of *Catholick Faith*, is none other but ſuch as the *Devils* may have.

I anſwer, *Religion is not Logick*, He that cannot give a true definition of the Soul, is not for that, *without* a Soul; ſo he that defines not Faith truly, yet may have true Faith: *Learned Divines* are not all of accord touching the *definition* of it; But if (as by the whole ſtream of the Scripture it ſhould ſeem) it be *a truſt and cleaving unto God*; this Faith many there have, the Love of our

John 14. 21. 23. our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* is wrought in many there; now he that loveth Chriſt is *loved of him, and of the Father alſo*; and becauſe the proof of true love to Chriſt is the *keeping of his Sayings*, *there, are good Works*, and according to the meaſure of knowledg great *conſcience* of obedience.

Yea, will ſome Man ſay, But that which marreth all is the Opinion of *merit and ſatisfaction*. Indeed that is the *School Doctrine*, but the Conſcience enlightned to know it ſelf, will eaſily act that part of the Publican, *who ſmote his Breaſt, and ſaid, God be merciful to me a ſinner*. I remember a good advice of one of that ſide: *Let others* (ſaith he) *that have committed few ſins, and done many good works ſatisfie for their ſins; But whatſoever thou doſt, refer it to the Honour of God: ſo as whatſoever good come from thee, thou reſolve to do it to pleaſe God, accounting thy works too little to ſatisfie for thy ſins: For as for thy ſins thou muſt offer Chriſt's Works, his Pains and Wounds, and his death it ſelf to him, together with that love of his out of which he endured theſe things for thee. Theſe are available for the ſatisfaction for thy ſins. But thou whatſoever thou doſt or ſuffereſt, offer it not for thy ſins* to God,

God, *for but his love and good pleaſure, wiſhing to find the more grace with him, whereby thou mayeſt do more, greater and more acceptable Works to him; let the love of God then be to thee the cauſe of well-living, and the hope of well-working. Thus he*, and I doubt not but many there be on that ſide that follow this counſel; herewith I ſhall relate the Speech of a *wiſe* and diſcreet Gentleman, *my neighbour in* England, who lived and dyed a *Recuſant*; he demanded one time, *What was the worſt Opinion that we could impute* to the Church of *Rome?* It was ſaid, *There was none more than this of our merits: And that* Cardinal Bellarmine *not only doth uphold them*, but ſaith, *we may truſt in them*, ſo it be done ſoberly; and ſaith, they *deſerve Eternal life*, not only in reſpect of God's Promiſes and Covenant, but alſo in regard of *the Work it ſelf:* Whereupon he anſwered, Bellarmine was *a learned Man, and could perhaps defend what he wrote by learning; But for his part he truſted to be ſaved only by the merits of his Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and as for good Works he would do all that he could; Et valeant quantum valere poſſint.*

De juſtific. ca. 10. 5. cap. 7.

To

To proceed: In or under the Obedience of *Rome* there is Perſecution, and that is a better mark of Chriſt's people, then *Bellarmine*'s Temporal felicity. All that will live *godly in Chriſt Jeſus* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *ſhall ſuffer perſecution*; *ye ſhall be hated of all Men for my Names ſake*, (ſaith our Saviour) and ſo are all they on that ſide that are *leſs* ſuperſtitious than others, or dare ſpeak of redreſs of abuſes; yea, there is *Martyrdome* for a free oppoſing Mens Traditions, *Image-worſhippers*, *Purgatory*, and the like.

Add, That in obedience to this call *of Chriſt*, there *do ſome come daily from thence*; and in truth how could our *Saviour call his people from thence* if he had none there? How could the Apoſtles ſay that *Antichriſt*, from whoſe captivity they are called, *ſhall ſit in the Temple of God*, (ſince that *Jeruſalem* is finally and utterly deſolated) unleſs the ſame Apoſtle otherwhere declaring himſelf, had ſhewed us his meaning, that the *Church is the Houſe of God*: and again, ye are the *Temple of the living God*, and the *Temple of God is Holy*, which are ye. It will be ſaid that there are on that ſide many groſs *errors*, many open *Idolatries*, and Superſtitions,

1 Tim. 3. 15.

ons, ſo as thoſe which live there muſt needs be either partakers of them, and like minded, or elſe very *Hypocrites*. But many errours and much ignorance, ſo it be not *affected*, may ſtand with true Faith in Chriſt; and when there is true *Contrition* for one ſin, (that is, *becauſe it diſpleaſeth God*) there is a general and implicite repentance for all *unknown ſins*. God's Providence in the general revolt of the *ten* Tribes, when *Elias* thought himſelf left alone, had reſerved *ſeven* thouſand, that *had not bowed to the Image of Baal*: and the like may be conceived here, ſince eſpecially, the Idolatry practiſed under the obedience of Myſtical *Babylon*, is rather in falſe and will-worſhip of the true God, and rather commended, as profitable, than enjoyned as abſolutely neceſſary, and the corruptions there maintained are rather in a *ſuperfluous* addition than *retraction* in any thing neceſſary to ſalvation. 1 Kings 19. 18.

Neither let that hard term of *hypocriſie* be uſed of the infirmity, and ſometime, of humble and peaceable carriage of ſome that oppoſe not common errors, nor wreſtle with the greater part of Men, but do follow the multitude, reſerving a right knowledge to themſelves: and ſometimes, (by the favour which

God gives them to find where they live,) obtain better conditions than others can. We call not *John* the beloved Diſciple an hypocrite, becauſe he was *known to the High Prieſt*, and could procure *Peter* to be let to ſee the arraignment of our Saviour: nor call we *Peter* himſelf one that for *fear* denied him; much leſs *Daniel* and his companions, that by Suit, obtain'd of *Melzar* their keeper that they might *feed upon Pulſe, and not be defiled with the King of* Babel's *meat*, and theſe *knew* themſelves to be *captives* and in *Babel*. But in the new *Babel* how many thouſands do we think there are that think otherwiſe; that they are in the *true Catholick Church of God*, the name whereof this *harlot* hath uſurped: And although they acknowledge that where they live there are many abuſes, and that the Church hath need of *reformation*, yet there they were born, and they may not *abandon their Mother in her ſickneſs*. Thoſe that converſe more inwardly with Men of Conſcience, on that ſide, do know that theſe are ſpeeches in *ſecret*; which how they will be juſtified againſt the commands of Chriſt, (*come out of her, my people*) belongs to another place to conſider. For the purpoſe we have now in hand

John 18. 15, 16.

Dan. 1. v. 16. 2.

I dare not but account theſe the people of God, though they live very dangerouſly under the captivity of *Babylon*, as did *Daniel*, *Mordechai*, *Heſter*, *Nehemiah*, and *Ezra*, and many Jews more, notwithſtanding both *Cyrus*'s Commiſſion, and the Prophets command to depart.

This point may give ſome light in a *Queſtion* that is on foot among learned and good Men at this day, Whether the *Church of* Rome *be a true Church or no?* where I think ſurely if the matter be rightly declared, for the terms, there will remain no queſtion. As thus, whether *Babylon pretending to be* the Church of *Rome*, yea the *Catholick Church*, be ſo or not? or this, *Whether the people of Chriſt that are under that Captivity be a true Church or no?* either of both wayes if declared in theſe terms, the matter will be ſoon reſolved.

Except ſome Man will perhaps ſtill *object*, Though there be a people of God, yet they can be no true Church, for they have no Prieſthood which is neceſſary to the Conſtitution of a Church, as S. *Cyprian* deſcribes it, *Plebs Sacerdoti adunata*, people joyned to their Prieſt: They have no Prieſthood, being by the very form of their Ordi- *Object.* *Epiſtola* 69.

nation, *Sacrificers for the quick and the dead.*

Anſw. I anſwer, under correction of better judgments, they have the Miniſtry of Reconciliation by the Commiſſion which is given at their Ordination; being the ſame which our Saviour left in his Church, *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted, whoſe ſins ye retain they are retained.*

Joh.20.23.

As for the other power *to ſacrifice*, if it be any otherwiſe than the celebrating the *Commemoration* of Chriſt's Sacrifice once offered upon the Croſs, it is no part of the Prieſthood or Miniſtry of the New Teſtament, but a *ſuperfluous addition* thereunto, which yet worketh not to the deſtruction of that which is lawfully conferred otherwiſe. This Doctrine I know not how it can offend any, unleſs it be in being too *Charitable*, and that I am ſure is a good fault, and ſerves well for a ſure *mark of Chriſt's Sheep*, and may have a very good operation to help Chriſts people out of *Babel*: *By this*, ſaith he, *ſhall Men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye have Charity one to another.* But they call us *Hereticks*, *Miſcreants*, *Doggs*, *&c.* and perſecute us with more *deadly* hatred than Jews and Turks; yea, this is *Babylon*, and perhaps ſome of God's

Joh.13.35.

God's People in it that are miſinformed of us. Thus did *Saul* for a while, yet a *choſen veſſel* to bear Chriſt's Name over the World. But let us maintain our *Charity* to them, as we are wont to bear with the weakneſs of our Friends or Children, when in *hot Feavers* or Phrenſies, they miſcal us. Let us remember if they be *Chriſt*'s people, how little *loving* ſoever they be to us, they muſt be our *beloved Brethren*, and this of the Perſons.

To this I ſhall add the concluſion of that excellent Sermon in which there is ſuch a mixture both of ſerious Piety and of an undiſſembled ſincerity, that I hope the Reader will not be diſpleaſed with me for laying it in his way.

NOW ſhould I come to the Motives from the *Danger* of ſin, and of partaking in puniſhment. But the handling of theſe would require a long time, let me rather make ſome *Application* of that which hath been ſaid already. And *Firſt* and moſt properly to thoſe that this Scripture moſt concerns and is directed unto: *The People of God holden in the Captivity of the* Romane Babylon: But alas they are not here, for this is one *part* of their Captivity, that they are kept, not only from hearing the voyce of the Servants of Chriſt, or of S. *John* the beloved Diſciple, but of himſelf *ſpeaking here from Heaven*; and ſince they are ſo contented, what remedy may there be for thoſe that are thus bewitched, unleſs you (*My L. L's. and Brethren*) will be contented to become faithful *Feoffees* in truſt, to convey this voyce and Meſſage of Chriſt unto them: and by my requeſt you ſhall be pleaſed to do it, with a great deal of Love. As this *Preſident* of our Lord himſelf doth lead you as to *Brethren*, and, as you hope,

hope, *faithful People*, loth to ſin againſt him, and deſirous to pleaſe him in all things. Tell them then, that it is acknowledged by their own Doctors: That *Rome* is *Babylon*, and it is averred, *That this is the preſent Papal Monarchy*, that out of this they muſt depart by the *Commands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*'s own Voyce, under pain of being acceſſary to all her *ſins*, and lyable to all her puniſhments: *wiſh* them to uſe the Liberty to *read the Holy Scripture*, and to come out of the blind Obedience of Mens Precepts and Traditions; be pleaſed to tell them further, that others may have ſome colour of excuſe, that live in ſuch places where they may *not diſcover* themſelves without *danger* of the loſs of their Goods, Honour or Life; they may do it here, not only with *ſafety*, but with Reputation and Profit: intreat them to beware leſt they make themſelves extreamly Culpable, not only of partaking with the former *Idolatries*, *Extortions*, *Maſſacres*, *Powder Treaſons*, and *King*-killings of that bloody City, but the new deteſtable Doctrines, *Derogatory to the blood of Chriſt*, which moderate Men even of her own Subjects deteſt: But which ſhe, for fear it ſhould diſcontent her own

Creatures, and devoted Darlings will not diſavow: O if they would fear the plagues of *Babylon*, and that of all others the fearfuleſt, *Blindneſs of Mind*, and *ſtrong deluſions to believe Lyes*, that they may *be damned that believed not the Truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs*. But you hope better things of them, *accompanying Salvation*; and this Meſſage of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, if you will be pleaſed to deliver, accompanying it with thoſe General and common goods *of Charity and Meekneſs, Integrity, good Example*, and the ſpecial furtherance, which your Callings and Places in State, Church or Family can give it, doubtleſs to Chriſts people, it will not be uneffectual.

2 Theſ. 2. 11.

Bleſſed be God that hath long ago ſtirred up the Spirits of our Princes, like *Cyrus* to give liberty to God's People *to go out of* Babylon, and to give large Patents, with *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, for the building of the Temple, and eſtabliſhing the Service of God.

Ezra 1. 1. C. 6. 3. & 7. 12.

And bleſſed be God, and his Majeſty that hath ſent us another *Nehemiah, to build up the Walls of* Jeruſalem, and to procure that the *Portion of the Levites* ſhould be given them. Give me

Neh. 2. 18.

me leave (*Right Honourable*) to put you in mind, That this alſo belongeth to your Care, to *cooperate* with Chriſt in bringing his People out of the Romiſh Captivity. And if to help away a poor Captive out of *Turky* hath been Honourable to ſome Publick Miniſters; What ſhall it be to help to the enlarging of ſo many thouſand Souls out of the *bondage* of Mens Traditions, and gaining to his Majeſty ſo many entire Subjects. Your wiſdom (my *Lord*) is ſuch, as it needeth not to be adviſed; and your *Zeal* as it needeth not to to be ſtired up: yet pardon me one Word, for the purpoſe of helping Chriſt's People out of *Babylon*. C. 10. 37. & 13. 10.

They are called by himſelf often in Scripture, *His Sheep*; and verily, as in many other, ſo in this they are like to Sheep; which being cooped up in a narrow Pent, though they find ſome preſſure, and the Paſſage be ſet open, are not forward to come out; unleſs they be put on, but ſtrain Courteſie, which ſhould begin; yet when they are once out with a *joyful* friſk they exult in their Freedome, yea, and when a few of the foremoſt lead, the reſt follow; I ſhall not need to make Application: Do according

according to your wiſdom in your place, and Chriſt whoſe Work it is ſhall be with you, and further your endeavours.

The like I ſay unto you the reſt of my *Lords*, *Fathers* and *Brethren*, help your Friends, Followers, and Tenants out of *Babylon*, what you may in your places; you have the Examples of *Abraham*, *Joſhua*, *Cornelius*, praiſed in Scripture for propagating the Knowledge and Fear of God in their Families and Commands, with the report of God's accepting it, and rewarding it, and this to the uſe *of others*.

But ſhall you not carry away ſomething *for your ſelves alſo*; yes verily, take *to your ſelves* this Voyce of our Saviour, *Come out of* Babylon; you will ſay we have done it already, God be thanked we are good Chriſtians, good *Proteſtants*, ſome of us Preachers and that call upon others *to come out of* Babylon: But if S. *Paul* prayed the *converted* Corinthians *to be reconciled to God*; And S. *John* writing to Believers, ſets down the Record of God touching his Son, *That they might believe in the Name of the Son of God*; Why may not I exhort in Chriſt's Name and Words, even thoſe that are come out of *Babylon*,

2 Cor. 5. 2.

1 John 5. 13.

lon, to come out of her, *Qui monet ut facias*, &c. He that perſwades another to that which he doth already, in perſwading incourageth him, and puts him on in his performance; but if there be any yet unreſolved, and halting or hanging between two, (as the people did in *Elias* time) that preſent their bodies at ſuch meetings as this is, when their hearts are perhaps at *Rome*, or no where; If any are in ſome points rightly informed and cleared, and in others doubtful, to ſuch Chriſt ſpeaks, *Come out of her, my people*, preſs on by Prayer, Conference, Reading, (if Chriſt's Voyce be to be heard) If *Rome* be *Babylon*, *Come out of her*. 1 Kings 18. 21.

And let it be ſpoken with as little offence as it is delight: we that ſeem to be the forwardeſt in Reformation, are not yet ſo come out of *Babylon*, as that we have not many ſhameful badges of her Captivity, witneſs her *Impropriations*, being indeed plain *Church-robberies*, deviſed to maintain her Colonies of idle and *irregular Regulars*; idle to the Church and State, zealous and pragmatical to ſupport and defend her power, pomp, and pride, by whom they ſubſiſted: witneſs her *Diſpenſations*, or diſſipations rather, of all Canonical Orders; bearing

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ing down all with her *Non obſtante*, her Symoniacal and Sacrilegious Venality of holy things, her manifold *Extortions* in the exerciſe of *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, which we have not wholly baniſhed: Let each of us therefore account it as ſpoken to himſelf, (*Come out of her my people.*)

In this Journey let us not trouble and caſt *ſtumbling blocks* before God's people, that are ready to come out; or hinder one another with *Diſſentions* in matters either inexplicable, or unprofitable: Let it have ſome pardon, if ſome be even ſo forward in flying from *Babylon*, as they fear *to go back*, to take their own goods for haſte: and let it not be blamed or uncharitably cenſured, if ſome come in the Rear, and would leave none of Chriſt's people behind them: No man reacheth his hand to another whom he would lift out of a Ditch, but he *ſtoops to him.* Our ends immediate are not the ſame, but yet they meet in one final intention; The *one hates* Babylon, and *the other loves and pities Chriſt's people:* The *one* believes the *Angel* that caſt *the Milſtone into the Sea*; in the end of this Chapter, with that Word (*ſo ſhall* Babylon *riſe no more.*) The *other* fears the *threatning*

Et qui tardius ambulant, non ſunt relinquendi. S. Aug. in Epiſtola 1. Joh. Tract. 5.

ning of our Saviour againſt ſuch as ſcandalize any of the *little ones believing in him*, that it is better for ſuch a one to have *a Milſtone hanged upon his neck, and be caſt into the Sea himſelf.*

Finally, let us all *beſeech our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* to give us *Wiſdom* and opportunity to further his work, and to give *ſucceſs* unto the ſame himſelf, to *haſten the judgment of* Babylon, to bring his people out of this bondage, that we with them and all his Saints in the Church *Triumphant*, may thereupon ſing a joyful *Hallelujah*, as is expreſſed in the next Chapter. Matt. 18. 6.

Salvation, and Honour, and Glory, and Power, be unto the LORD *our* GOD, Amen.

Hallelujah.

He

He preached very often in his Epiſcopal habit, but not alwayes, and uſed it ſeldome in the Afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a Quire, nor Inſtrumental Muſick; which he thought filled the ear with too much pleaſure, and carried away the mind from the ſerious attention to the matter, which is indeed the ſinging with grace in the Heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleaſed. And when another Biſhop juſtified theſe things, becauſe they ſerved much to raiſe the affections; he anſwered, That in order to the raiſing the affections, thoſe things that tended to edification ought only to be uſed: And thought it would be hard otherwiſe to make ſtops; for upon the ſame pretence an infinity of Rites might be brought in. And the ſenſe he had of the exceſſes of ſuperſtition, from what he had obſerved during his long ſtay in *Italy*, made him judge it neceſſary to watch carefully againſt the beginnings of that diſeaſe, which is like a green Sickneſs in Religion. He never uſed the Common Prayer in his Family; for he thought it was intended to be the ſolemn Worſhip of Chriſtians in their Publick Aſſemblies, and that it was not

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ſo proper for private Families. He was ſo exact an obſerver of Eccleſiaſtical Rules, that he would perform no part of his Function out of his own Dioceſs, without obtaining the Ordinaries leave for it; ſo that being in *Dublin*, when his Wife's Daughter was to be married to Mr. *Clogy*, (that is much more the Author of this Book than I am) and they both deſired to be bleſt by him, he would not do it till he firſt took out a Licence for it in the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*'s Conſiſtory.

So far I have proſecuted the Relation of his moſt exemplary diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function; reſerving what is more perſonal and particular to the end where I ſhall give his Character. I now come to the concluſion of his life, which was indeed ſuitable to all that had gone before. But here I muſt open one of the bloodieſt Scenes, that the Sun ever ſhone upon, and repreſent a Nation all covered with Blood, that was in full peace, under no fears nor apprehenſions, enjoying great plenty, and under an eaſie yoke, under no oppreſſion in Civil matters, nor perſecution upon the account of Religion: For the Biſhops and Prieſts of the *Roman* Communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were

were almoſt as publick in the uſe of their Religion, as others were in that which was eſtabliſhed by Law; ſo that they wanted nothing but Empire, and a power to deſtroy all that differed from them. And yet on a ſudden this happy Land was turned to be a Field of Blood. Their Biſhops reſolved in one particular to fulfil the Obligation of the Oath they took at their Conſecration of *perſecuting all Hereticks to the utmoſt of their power*; and their Prieſts, that had their breeding in *Spain*, had brought over from thence the true Spirit of their Religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the *Spaniſh* temper, that had appeared in the conqueſt of the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſo they thought a Maſſacre was the ſureſt way to work, and intended that the Natives of *Ireland*; ſhould vie with the *Spaniards* for what they had done in *America*.

The Conjuncture ſeemed favourable; for the whole Iſle of *Britain* was ſo imbroiled, that they reckoned they ſhould be able to maſter *Ireland*, before any Forces could be ſent over to check the progreſs of their butchery. The Earl of *Strafford* had left *Ireland* ſome conſiderable time before this. The Parliament of *Eng-*

England was riſing very high againſt the King; and though the King was then gone to *Scotland*, it was rather for a preſent quieting of things that he gave all up to them, than that he gained them to his Service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuſe it into the people, That this was the proper time for them to recover their ancient Liberty, and ſhake off the *Engliſh* Yoke, and to poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe Eſtates that had belonged to their Anceſtors: And to ſuch as had ſome reſts of Duty to the King it was given out, That what they were about was warranted by his Authority, and for his ſervice. A Seal was cut from another Charter, and put to a forged Commiſſion, giving warrant to what they were going about. And becauſe the King was then in *Scotland*, they made uſe of a *Scotch* Seal. They alſo pretended that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms being either in rebellion againſt the King, or very near it, That the *Engliſh* of *Ireland* would be generally in the intereſt of the *Engliſh* Parliament; ſo that it was ſaid, That they could not ſerve the King better than by making themſelves Maſters in *Ireland*, and then declaring for the King againſt his other rebellious Subjects.

Theſe things took univerſally with the whole Nation; and the Conſpiracy was cemented by many Oaths and Sacraments, and in concluſion all things were found to be ſo ripe that the day was ſet in which they ſhould every where break out; and the Caſtle of *Dublin* being then as well ſtored with a great Magazine, which the Earl of *Strafford* had laid up for the Army, that he intended to have carried into *Scotland*, had not the pacification prevented it, as it was weakly kept by a few careleſs Warders; who might have been eaſily ſurprized: it was reſolved that they ſhould ſeize on it, which would have furniſhed them with Arms and Ammunition, and have put the Metropolis, and very probably the whole Iſland in their hands. But, though this was ſo well laid, that the execution could not have miſt, in all humane appearance; and though it was kept ſo ſecret, that there was not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any deſign on foot, till the Night before, and then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindneſs to an *Iriſhman*, that was become a Proteſtant, communicated the Project to him: The other went and diſcovered it to

to the Lords Juſtices; and by this means not only the Caſtle of *Dublin* was preſerved, but in effect *Ireland* was ſaved. For in *Dublin* there was both a ſhelter for ſuch as were ſtript and turned out of all they had, to fly to, and a place of rendezvous, where they that eſcaped before the ſtorm had reached to them, met to conſult about their preſervation. But though *Dublin* was thus ſecured, the reſt of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* in *Ireland*, particularly in *Ulſter*, fell into the hands of thoſe mercileſs Men, who reckoned it no ſmall piece of mercy, when they ſtript people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vaſt numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own Writers in a Diſcourſe that he printed ſome years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boaſts to have exceeded two hundred thouſand, and the barbarous cruelties they uſed in murthering them, are things of ſo dreadful a nature, that I cannot eaſily go on with ſo diſmal a Narrative, but muſt leave it to the Hiſtorians. I ſhall ſay no more of it than what concerns our Biſhop: It may be eaſily imagined how much he was ſtruck with that fearful ſtorm, that was breaking on every hand of him,

though it did not yet break in upon himſelf. There ſeemed to be a ſecret guard ſet about his Houſe: for though there was nothing but Fire, Blood and Deſolation round about him; yet the *Iriſh* were ſo reſtrained, as by ſome hidden power, that they did him no harm for many Weeks: His Houſe was in no condition to make any reſiſtance, ſo that it was not any apprehenſion of the oppoſition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his Neighbours had alſo fled to him for ſhelter: He received all that came, and ſhared every thing he had ſo with them, that all things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from Men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death, which they had reaſon to look for every day; ſo that they ſpent their time in Prayers and Faſting, which laſt was now like to be impoſed on them by neceſſity. The Rebels expreſſed their eſteem for him in ſuch a manner that he had reaſon to aſcribe it wholly to that overruling power, that ſtills the raging of the Seas, and the tumult of the people: they ſeemed to be overcome with his exemplary converſation among them,

and

and with the tenderneſs and charity that he had upon all occaſions expreſſed for them, and they often ſaid, He ſhould be the laſt *Engliſhman* that ſhould be put out of *Ireland*. He was the only *Engliſhman* in the whole County of *Cavan* that was ſuffered to live in his own Houſe without diſturbance; not only his Houſe, and all the out-Buildings, but the Church and Church-Yard were full of people; and many that a few dayes before lived in great eaſe and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of Straw or Hay to lye upon, and of ſome boiled Wheat to ſupport Nature: and were every day expecting when thoſe Swords, that had according to the Prophetick Phraſe, *drunk up ſo much Blood*, ſhould likewiſe be ſatiated with theirs. They did now eat the Bread of Sorrow, and mingled their Cups with their Tears. The Biſhop continued to encourage them to truſt in God, and in order to that he preached to them the firſt Lords Day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the Third Pſalm, which was penned by *David* when there was a general inſurrection of the people againſt him under his unnatural Son *Abſolom*; and he applyed it all to their condition. He had

a doleful Aſſembly before him, an Auditory all melting in Tears: It requires a Soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raiſed up their Spirits, when he ſpake to theſe Words, *But thou, O Lord, art a Shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my Head. I laid me down and ſlept: I awaked, for the Lord ſuſtained me. I will not be afraid of ten thouſands of the people, that have ſet themſelves againſt me, round about.* And to the concluſion of the Pſalm, *Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy bleſſing is upon thy people.* The next Lords day, hearing of the Scoffings, as well as the Cruelty, of the *Iriſh*, he preached on theſe Words in *Micah*, *Rejoyce not againſt me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I ſhall ariſe; when I ſit in darkneſs, the Lord ſhall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him, untill he plead my cauſe, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I ſhall behold his righteouſneſs. Then ſhe that is mine enemy ſhall ſee it, and ſhame ſhall cover her which ſaid unto me, Where is the Lord thy God.* By theſe means, and through the bleſſing of God upon them, they encouraged themſelves in God, and were prepared

prepared for the worſt that their enemies could do to them.

The *Iriſh* themſelves were at a ſtand: The miſcarriage of the deſign on *Dublin Caſtle* was a ſad diſappointment: they were unarmed, they had no Treaſure, no Fleet, nor foreign ſupport; and though there were ſome good Officers among them, yet they found the Souldiers to be as cowardly as the *Engliſh* Inhabitants felt them to be cruel: For as thoſe two Characters are obſerved generally to meet in the ſame perſon; ſo it was very viſible upon this occaſion, ſince a very ſmall Body of good Men, could have gone over the whole Kingdom, and have reduced it in fewer Months than it coſt Years. Their chief hope was, the only thing in which they were not diſappointed, That the Diſputes between the King and the Parliament of *England*, would make Supplies come over ſo ſlow, that they might thereby gain much time; and in concluſion they might hope for a more favourable conjuncture. Thoſe of the County of *Cavan* ſeemed to ſee their errour, and apprehend their danger: ſo they came to the Biſhop, as the fitteſt Man to interpoſe for them; he was willing to oblige thoſe on the one hand,

at whoſe mercy he was, and on the other hand to bring them to ſuch a ſubmiſſion, as might at leaſt procure ſome breathing time to the poor *Engliſh*, and to thoſe few Houſes that ſtood out, but were falling within doors under an Enemy, that was more irreſiſtible than the *Iriſh*: For they were much ſtraitned, their Proviſions failing them. The Petition, that they ſigned and ſent up to the Lords Juſtices and the Council, was too well penned to come from thoſe that ſet their hands to it. It was drawn by the Biſhop, who put their matter in his own Words; therefore I ſhall inſert it here, though it gives the beſt colours to their Rebellion of any of all their Papers that I ever ſaw.

The

To the Right Honourable the Lords Juſtices and Council,

The humble Remonſtrance of the Gentry and Commonalty of the County of Cavan, *of their Grievances common with other parts of this Kingdom of* Ireland.

WHereas we, his Majeſties loyal Subjects of his Highneſs Kingdom of Ireland, *have of long time groaned under many grievous preſſures, occaſioned by the rigorous Government of ſuch placed over us, as reſpected more the advancement of their own private Fortunes, than the Honour of His Majeſty, or the welfare of us his Subjects; whereof we in humble manner declared our ſelves to His Highneſs by our Agents ſent from the Parliament, the repreſentative body of this Kingdom: Notwithſtanding which, we find our ſelves of late threatned with far greater and more grievous Vexations, either with captivity of our Conſciences, our*

our loſing of our lawful Liberties, or utter expulſion from our Native Seats, without any juſt Ground given on our parts, to alter his Majeſties goodneſs ſo long continued unto us; of all which we find great cauſe of fears in the proceeding of our Neighbour Nations, and do ſee it already attempted upon by certain Petitioners for the like courſe to be taken in this Kingdom, for the effecting thereof, in a compulſory way, ſo as Rumors have cauſed fears of Invaſion from other parts, to the diſſolving the Bond of mutual agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the ſeveral Subjects of this Kingdom; and whereby all other his Majeſties Dominions have been linkt in one. For the preventing therefore of ſuch evils growing upon us in this Kingdom; we have, for the preſervation of his Majeſties Honour, and our own Liberties, thought fit to take into our Hands, for his Highneſſes uſe and Service, ſuch Forts, and other places of Strength as coming into the poſſeſſion of others might prove diſadvantagious, and tend to the utter undoing the Kingdom. And we do hereby declare, That herein we harbour not the leaſt thought of diſloyalty towards his Majeſty, or purpoſe any hurt to any of his Highneſſes Subjects in their Poſſeſſion, Goods or Liberty: only we deſire

ſire that your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to make remonſtrance to his Majeſty, for us, of all our Grievances, and juſt Fears, that they may be removed, and ſuch a courſe ſetled by the advice of the Parliament of Ireland, *whereby the Liberty of our Conſciences may be ſecured unto us, and we eaſed of other Burthens in Civil Government. As for the miſchiefs and inconveniences that have already happened through the diſorder of the common ſort of people, againſt the* Engliſh *Inhabitants, or any other; we with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and ſuch others of the ſeveral Counties of this Kingdom, are moſt willing and ready to uſe our and their beſt endeavours in cauſing reſtitution and ſatisfaction to be made as in part we have already done.*

An anſwer hereunto is moſt humbly deſired, with ſuch preſent expedition as may by your Lordſhips be thought moſt convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarouſneſs and uncivility of the Commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, conſenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave to your Lordſhips moſt grave Wiſdom.

And we ſhall humbly pray, *&c.*

But

But this came to nothing: while theſe things were in agitation, the titular Biſhop of *Kilmore* came to *Cavan*; his name was *Swiney*, he was like his name, for he often wallowed in his own Vomit. He had a Brother, whom the Biſhop had converted, and had entertained him in his Houſe, till he found out a way of ſubſiſtence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Biſhop, ſo he deſired to be admitted to lodge in his Houſe, and aſſured him that he would preſerve him. But the Biſhop hearing of this, writ the following Letter in Latin to him; which will be found at the end of this Book, and is indeed a ſtile fit for one of the moſt eloquent of the *Roman* Authors. Here I ſhall give a Tranſlation of it in *Engliſh*.

See at the end Numb. 4.

Reverend Brother,

I Am ſenſible of your civility in offering to protect me by your preſence in the midſt of this tumult; and upon the like occaſion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: but there are many things that hinder me from making

king uſe of the favour you now offer me. My Houſe is ſtrait, and there is a great number of miſerable people of all Ranks, Ages, and of both Sexes, that have fled hither as to a Sanctuary; beſides that ſome of them are ſick, among whom my own Son is one. But that which is beyond all the reſt, is the difference of our way of worſhip: I do not ſay of our Religion, for I have ever thought, and have publiſhed it in my Writings, that we have one common Chriſtian Religion. Under our preſent miſeries we comfort our ſelves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily Prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar Tongue, and with the ſinging of Pſalms; and ſince we find ſo little truth among Men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his aſſiſtance. Theſe things would offend your company, if not your ſelf; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to ſee you, if you were among us; and under that colour thoſe murtherers would break in upon us, who after they have robbed us of all that belongs to us, would in concluſion think they did God good ſervice by our ſlaughter. For my own part, I am reſolved to truſt to the Divine Protection. To a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, that is now almoſt ſeventy, no

death

death for the cauſe of Chriſt can be bitter: on the contrary, nothing is more deſireable. And though I ask nothing for my ſelf alone, yet if you will require the people under an Anathema, *not to do any other acts of violence to thoſe whom they have ſo oft beaten, ſpoiled and ſtript, it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to your ſelf, and happy to the people, if they obey you: But if not, conſider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend Brother, I do heartily commend you.*

Yours in Chriſt,

November 2. 1641.

Will. Kilmore.

Endorſed thus,

To my Reverend and Loving Brother, D. Swiney.

This

This Letter commends it ſelf ſo much, that I need ſay nothing but wiſh my Reader to ſee where he can find ſuch another, writ on ſuch an occaſion, with ſo much Spirit, as well as Piety and Diſcretion: It was the laſt he ever writ, and was indeed a concluſion well becoming ſuch a Pen. It had at that time ſome effect, for the Biſhop gave him no further diſturbance till about five Weeks after this, ſo that from the 23. of *October*, which was the diſmal day in which the Rebellion broke out, till the 18. of *December* following, he, together with all that were within his Walls, enjoyed ſuch quiet, that if it was not in all Points a miracle, it was not far from one; and it ſeemed to be an accompliſhment of thoſe Words, *A thouſand ſhall fall on thy ſide, and ten thouſand at thy right-Hand; but it ſhall not come nigh thee; there ſhall no evil befal thee; for he ſhall give his Angels charge over thee.* But to the former Letter I ſhall add the laſt Paper of Spiritual advice and direction that ever the Biſhop writ; which he did at the deſire of one Mrs *Dillan*, that was a zealous and devout Proteſtant, but had been fatally deluded in her widowhood by Mr. *Dil-*

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lan Son to the Earl of *Roſcommon*, taking him to be a Proteſtant, and had married him, but enjoyed her ſelf very little after that: for though he uſed no violence to her, or her Children by her former Husband, in the point of Religion; yet he bred up his Children by her in his own Superſtition, and he was now engaged in the Rebellion. So that ſhe had at this time a vaſt addition to her former ſorrows upon her; and therefore deſired that the Biſhop, whoſe Neighbour and conſtant Hearer ſhe had been, would ſend her ſuch Inſtructions in this ſad calamity, as might both direct and ſupport her. Upon which he writ the following Paper.

" YOU deſire, as I am informed
" (dear Siſter in Chriſt Jeſus)
" that I would ſend you ſome ſhort
" Memorial, to put you in mind how to
" carry your ſelf in this ſorrowful time.
" I will do it willingly; the more, be-
" cauſe with one and the ſame labour,
" I ſhall both ſatisfie you, and recol-
" lect my own thoughts alſo, to the
" like

" like performance of mine own duty,
" and bethinking my ſelf how I might
" beſt accompliſh it, there came to my
" mind that ſhort Rule of our Life,
" which the Apoſtle mentions in his
" Epiſtle to *Titus*, and whereof you
" have been a diligent hearer in the
" School of Grace, where he reduceth
" the whole practice of Chriſtianity un-
" to three Heads, of living *Soberly*, *juſt-*
" *ly*, and *Godly*; This laſt directing
" our carriage towards God, the midle-
" moſt towards our Neighbour, and
" the foremoſt towards our Selves
" Now ſince this is a direction for our
" whole Life, it ſeems to me that we
" have no more to do at any time, but
" to conn this Leſſon more perfectly,
" with ſome particular application of
" ſuch parts of it, as are moſt ſuitable
" to the preſent occaſions. And as to
" *Sobriety* firſt, (under which the
" Vertues of Humility, Modeſty, Tem-
" perance, Chaſtity, and Contented-
" neſs are contained) ſince this is a
" time, wherein, as the Prophet ſaith,
" *The Lord of Hoſts calleth to weeping*
" *and mourning, and pulling off the Hair,*
" *and girding with Sack-cloth*, you
" ſhall, by my advice, conform your
" ſelf to thoſe, that by the Hand of

"God ſuffer ſuch things. Let your ap-
"parel and Dreſs be mournful, as I
"doubt not but that your Mind is; your
"Dyet ſparing and courſe, rather than
"full and liberal; frame your ſelf to
"the indifferency, whereof the Apoſtle
"ſpeaketh, *In whatſoever ſtate you ſhall*
"*be, therewith to be content*; to be full,
"and to be hungry; to abound and to
"want. Remember now that which
"is the Lot of others, you know not
"how ſoon it may be your own. Learn
"to deſpiſe, and defie, the vain and
"falſly called wealth of this World,
"whereof you now ſee, we have ſo ca-
"ſual and uncertain a poſſeſſion.

"This for Sobriety, the firſt part
"of the Leſſon pertaining to your
"ſelf.

"Now for *Juſtice*, which reſpects
"others (and containeth the Vertues of
"Honour to Superiors, diſcreet and
"equal government of Inferiors, peace-
"ableneſs to all, Meekneſs, Mercy,
"juſt dealing in matters of getting and
"ſpending, Gratitude, Liberality, juſt
"Speech and deſires) God's Judgments
"being in the Earth, the Inhabitants of
"the World ſhould learn Righteouſ-
"neſs, as the Prophet ſpeaketh: Call

"to

"to mind therefore and bethink you, "if in any of theſe you have failed, "and turn your Feet to God's Teſtimo- "nies; certainly theſe times are ſuch, "wherein you may be afflicted, and "ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *Horrour hath* "*taken hold of me, and Rivers of Tears* "*run down mine Eyes, becauſe they keep* "*not thy Laws.* Rebelling againſt Su- "periors, Miſleading, not only by Ex- "ample, but by Compulſion, Inferiors, "laying their Hand to them, that were "at peace with them, unjuſtly ſpoiling "and unthankfully requiting, thoſe that "had ſhewed them kindneſs, no Faith "nor Truth in their Promiſes; Judge "by the way, of the School that teach- "eth Chriſt thus; are theſe his doings? "as for thoſe that ſuffer, I am well aſ- "ſured, I ſhall not need to inform you, "or ſtir you up to mercy and compaſſi- "on. That which is done in this kind, "is done to Chriſt himſelf, and ſhall be "put upon account in your reckoning, "and rewarded accordingly at his glori- "ous appearance.

"The laſt and principal part of our "Leſſon remains, which teacheth how "to behave our ſelves *Godly*, or religi- "ouſly; (to this belong, Firſt, the

" Duties of Gods inward Worſhip, as " Fear, Love, and Faith in God; then " outward, as Invocation, the holy uſe " of his Word and Sacraments, Name " and Sabbaths). The Apoſtle makes " it the whole End and Work for which " we were ſet in this World, to ſeek the " Lord; yet in publick affliction, we " are ſpecially invited thereto, as it is " written of *Jehoſhaphat*, when a great " multitude came to invade him, *He* " *ſet his Face to ſeek the Lord, and cal-* " *led the people to a ſolemn faſt:* So " the Church profeſſeth in the Prophet " *Iſaiah*, *In the way of thy Judgments* " *Lord we have waited for thee, the de-* " *ſire of our Soul is to thy Name, and* " *to the remembrance of thee. With my* " *Soul have I deſired thee in the Night,* " *yea with my Spirit within me will I ſeek* " *thee early.* In this publick Calamity " therefore it is our duty, to turn to " him that ſmiteth us: and to humble " our ſelves under his mighty Hand, to " conceive a reverend and Religious fear " towards him, that only, by turning " away his countenance, can thus trou- " ble us, againſt that of Man, which " can do no more but kill the Bo- " dy.

" Again,

"Again, to renew our love to our "heavenly Father, that now offereth "himſelf to us, as to Children, and to "give a proof of that Love that we "bear to our Saviour, in the keeping "of his Sayings, hating in compariſon "of him, and competition with him, "Father, Mother, Children, Goods, "and Life it ſelf; which is the condi- "tion, and proof of his Diſciples; and "above all to receive, and to re-inforce "our Faith and Affiance, which is now "brought unto the tryal of the fiery "Furnace, and of the Lions Den; O that "it might be found to our honour, praiſe, "and glory, at the appearing of Jeſus "Chriſt. In the mean ſpace, even "now, let us be partakers of Chriſt's "Sufferings, and hear him from Hea- "ven encouraging us, *Be thou faithful "unto Death, and I will give thee a Crown "of Life.*

"Touching Prayer, we have this "gracious invitation, *Call upon me in "the day of trouble, and I will hear thee*; "the example of all Gods Saints, and "of our Saviour in his agony; to this "belong the humble confeſſion of our "Sins, with earneſt requeſt of Par- "don; the complaint of our Miſery, "and danger, with requeſt of ſuc-

" cour and protection; we have beſides
" the interceſſion of our Advocate, with
" the Father, the cry of the innocent
" Blood, that hath been cruelly ſhed, and
" the Lords own intereſting himſelf in
" the cauſe, ſo as we may ſay with the
" Pſalmiſt, *Ariſe, O God: plead thine*
" *own cauſe, remember how the fooliſh*
" *Man, (yea, the Man of Sin) reproach-*
" *eth thee daily. Forget not the voice of*
" *thine Enemies; the tumult of thoſe that*
" *riſe againſt thee, encreaſeth continually.*
" That Pſalm, and many others, as the
" 6, 13, 35, 43, 71, 74, 79, 80, 88, 92,
" 94, 102, 115, 123, 130, 140, 142. do
" give Precedents of Prayers in ſuch
" times as theſe; and the Prayer of
" *Daniel*, and *Ezra* 9. of *Aſa* and *Je-*
" *hoſhaphat*, 2 *Chron.* 14. and 26. 12.
" The Stories of *David*'s flight before
" *Abſolom*, and *Jehoſhaphat*'s behaviour
" when the Enemies came againſt him,
" of *Hezekiah*'s, in *Sennacherib*'s Invaſion,
" *Iſa.* 37. and the whole book of *Eſther*,
" are fit Scriptures now to be read, that
" through the patience and comfort of
" them we might have hope.

" Now becauſe we know not how
" ſoon we may be called to ſanctifie God's
" name, by making profeſſion thereof,
" you may perhaps deſire to know what

" to

"to ſay in that day. You may openly "profeſs your not doubting of any Ar- "ticle of the Catholick Faith, ſhortly "laid down in the Creed, or more "largely laid down in the Holy Scri- "ptures, but that you conſent not to "certain Opinions, which are no points "of Faith, which have been brought "into common belief, without warrant "of Scriptures, or pure Antiquity, as "Namely,

"That it is of neceſſity to Salva- "tion to be under the Pope.
"That the Scriptures ought not "to be read of the common peo- "ple.
"That the Doctrine of Holy Scri- "pture is not ſufficient to Salva- "tion.
"That the Service of God ought to "be in a Language not underſtood "of the people.
"That the Communion ſhould not "be adminſtred to them in both "kinds.
"That the Bread in the Lord's Sup- "per, is tranſubſtantiated into his "Body.
"That he is there ſacrificed for the "quick and the dead.

" That there is any Purgatory be-
" ſides Chriſt's Blood.
" That our good Works can merit
" Heaven.
" That the Saints hear our Prayers,
" and know our Hearts.
" That Images are to be wor-
" ſhipped.
" That the Pope is Infallible, and
" can command Angels.
" That we ought to pray to the Dead,
" and for the Dead.

" In all theſe notwithſtanding, you
" may profeſs your teachableneſs, if
" by ſound Reaſons out of God's Word,
" you ſhall be convinced of the truth
" of them: And becauſe we know not
" how far it will pleaſe God to call us to
" make reſiſtance againſt ſin, whether
" unto Blood it ſelf, or no; it ſhall be
" Wiſdom for us to prepare our ſelves
" to the laſt care of a godly life, which
" is to dye Godly. This the Apoſtle
" *Paul* calleth, *Sleeping in Jeſus*, im-
" plying thereby our Faith in him,
" our being found in his Work, and
" our committing our Souls into his
" Hands with peace; ſuch a ſweet
" and Heavenly Sleep was that of S. *Ste-*
" *phen*, whoſe laſt Words for himſelf
" were,

"were, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*, "and for his Tormentors, *Lord lay not* "*this ſin to their charge*; wherewith "I will end this Writing, and wiſh to "end my life, when the will of God "ſhall be, to whoſe gracious protecti-"on (dear Siſter) I do heartily com-"mit you.

November 23. 1641.

Theſe Advices ſhew in what temper that holy Man was in this his extremity. They had a very good effect on the Lady; for as by reading them over very often, ſhe got to be able to ſay them all without Book, ſo ſhe did that which was much more, ſhe lodged them in her heart, as well as in her memory. While this good Man was now every day waiting for his Crown, the Rebells ſent to him, deſiring him to diſmiſs the company that was about him; but he refuſed to obey their cruel order, and he reſolved to live and dye with them; and would much more willingly have offered himſelf to have dyed for them, than have accepted of any favour for himſelf,

from

from which they ſhould be ſhut out. And when they ſent him word, That though they loved and honoured him beyond all the *Engliſh* that ever came into *Ireland*, becauſe he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the Council of State at *Kilkenny*, that had aſſumed the government of the Rebells, that if he would not put away the people, that had gathered about him, they ſhould take him from them; he ſaid no more, but in the Words of *David* and S. *Paul*, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as ſeems good to him, the will of the Lord be done*: So on the eighteenth of *December* they came and ſeized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him, and his two Sons, and Mr. *Clogy* priſoners to the Caſtle of *Lochmater*, the only place of ſtrength in the whole County. It was a little Tower in the midſt of a Lake, about a Muſquet ſhot from any Shoar: And though there had been a little Iſland about it anciently, yet the Water had ſo gained on it, that there was not a foot of Ground above Water, but only the Tower it ſelf. They ſuffered the Priſoners to carry nothing with them; for the Titular Biſhop took poſſeſſion of all that belonged to the Biſhop,

ſhop, and ſaid Maſs the next Lords day in the Church. They ſet the Biſhop on Horſeback, and made the other Priſoners go on foot by him: And thus he was lodged in this Caſtle, that was a moſt miſerable dwelling. The Caſtle had been in the hands of one Mr. *Cullum*, who, as he had the keeping of the Fort truſted to him, ſo he had a good allowance for a Magazine to be laid up in it, for the defence of the Country: But he had not a pound of Powder, nor one fixt Muſquet in it, and he fell under the juſt puniſhment of the neglect of his truſt, for he was taken the firſt day of the Rebellion, and was himſelf made a priſoner here. All but the Biſhop were at firſt clapt into Irons, for the *Iriſh* that were perpetually drunk, were afraid leſt they ſhould ſeiſe both on them and on the Caſtle. Yet it pleaſed God ſo far to abate their fury, that they took off their Irons, and gave them no diſturbance in the Worſhip of God, which was now all the comfort that was left them. The Houſe was extreamly open to the weather, and ruinous: and as the place was bare and expoſed, ſo that Winter was very ſevere; which was a great addition to the miſery of thoſe that the Rebels had ſtript naked, leaving to many not

not ſo much as a Garment to cover their nakedneſs. But it pleaſed God to bring another Priſoner to the ſame Dungeon, that was of great uſe to them, one *Richard Caſtledine*, who had come over a poor Carpenter to *Ireland* with nothing but his Tools on his back, and was firſt imployed by one Sir *Richard Waldron* in the carpentry work of a Caſtle, that he was building in the Pariſh of *Cavan*: But Sir *Richard* waſting his Eſtate before he had finiſhed his Houſe, and afterwards leaving *Ireland*, God had ſo bleſt the induſtry of this *Caſtledine*, during Thirty years labour, that he bought this Eſtate, and having only Daughters, he married one of them, out of gratitude, to Sir *Richard*'s youngeſt Son, to whom he intended to have given the Eſtate that was his Fathers: He was a Man of great vertue, and abounded in good Works, as well as in exemplary Piety: he was ſo good a Husband that the *Iriſh* believed he was very rich; ſo they preſerved him, hoping to draw a great deal of Money from him: He being brought to this miſerable Priſon, got ſome Tools and old Boards, and fitted them up as well as was poſſible, to keep out the Weather. The Keepers of the Priſon brought

brought their Priſoners abundance of Proviſion, but left them to dreſs it for themſelves; which they that knew little what belonged to Cookery were glad to do in ſuch a manner as might preſerve their lives; and were all of them much ſupported in their Spirits. They did not ſuffer as evil doers, and they were not aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt; but rejoyced in God in the midſt of all their afflictions; and the old Biſhop took joyfully the ſpoiling of his Goods, and the reſtraint of his perſon, comforting himſelf in this, That theſe light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory. The day after his impriſonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the Epiſtle for the day, which ſet before them the pattern of the humility and ſufferings of Chriſt; and on *Chriſtmas day* he preached on *Gal.* 4. 4, 5. and adminiſtred the Sacrament to the ſmall Congregation about him; their Keepers having been ſo charitable as to furniſh them with Bread and Wine. And on the 26*th.* of *December* Mr. *William Bedell*, the Biſhop's eldeſt Son, preached on S. *Stephen*'s laſt Words, which afforded proper matter for their meditation,

meditation, who were every day in expectation when they ſhould be put to give ſuch a teſtimony of their Faith, as that firſt Martyr had done: And on the ſecond of *January*, which was the laſt *Sunday* of their impriſonment, Mr. *Clogy* preached on S. *Luke* 2. 32, 33, 34. During all their religious exerciſes, their keepers never gave them any diſturbance; and indeed they carried ſo gently towards them, that their natures ſeemed to be ſo much changed, that it lookt like a ſecond ſtopping the mouths of Lions. They often told the Biſhop, that they had no perſonal quarrel to him, and no other cauſe to be ſo ſevere to him, but becauſe he was an *Engliſhman*.

But while he was in this diſmal Priſon, ſome of the *Scots* of that County, that had retired to two Houſes, that were ſtrong enough to reſiſt any thing but Cannon, and were commanded by Sir *James Craig*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, and Sir *Arthur Forker*, now Lord *Grenard*, finding themſelves like to ſuffer more by hunger, than by the Siege that was laid to them, made ſo reſolute a Sally upon the *Iriſh*, that they killed ſeveral, took ſome Priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt, ſo that many Months paſſed

ſed before they offered to beſiege them any more. Among their Priſoners four were Men of conſiderable intereſt; ſo they treated an exchange of them for the Biſhop, with his two Sons and Mr. *Clogy*; which was concluded, and the Priſoners were delivered on both ſides on the *7th.* of *January*: but though the *Iriſh* promiſed to ſuffer the Biſhop with the other three to go ſafe to *Dublin*, yet they would not let them go out of the Country, but intended to make further advantage by having them ſtill among them; and ſo they were ſuffered to go to the Houſe of an *Iriſh* Miniſter, *Denis O Shereden*, to whom ſome reſpect was ſhewed, by reaſon of his extraction, though he had forſaken their Religion, and had married an *Engliſh* Woman: he continued firm in his Religion, and relieved many in their extremity. Here the Biſhop ſpent the few remaining dayes of his Pilgrimage, having his latter end ſo full in view, that he ſeemed dead to the World and every thing in it, and to be haſting for the coming of the Day of God. During the laſt Sabbaths of his life, though there were three Miniſters preſent, he read all the Prayers and Leſſons himſelf, and likewiſe preached on all thoſe days.

On

On the 9*th.* of *January* he preached on the whole 44*th. Pſalm*, being the firſt of the Pſalms appointed for that day, and very ſuitable to the miſeries the *Engliſh* were then in, who were killed all day long, as Sheep appointed for Meat. Next Sabbath, which was the 16*th.* he preached on the 79. *Pſalm*, the firſt *Pſalm* for the day, which runs much on the like Argument, when the Temple was defiled, and *Jeruſalem* was laid on heaps, and the dead Bodies of God's ſervants were given to be meat to the Fouls of Heaven, and their Fleſh to the Beaſts of the Earth, and their blood vvas ſhed like Water, and there vvas none to bury them. Their condition being ſo like one another, it vvas very proper to put up that Prayer, *O remember not againſt us, former iniquities: Let thy tender mercies ſpeedily prevent us, for we are brought very low.* Together with the other. *Let the ſighing of the Priſoner come before thee, according to the greatneſs of thy power, preſerve thou thoſe that are appointed to dye.* On the 23*d.* he preached on the laſt ten Verſes of the 71. *Pſalm*, obſerving the great fitneſs that was in them to expreſs his preſent condition, eſpecially in theſe Words, *O God thou haſt taught me from my*

my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wonderous works: now alſo when I am old, and gray headed, forſake me not. And on the 30*th.* which was the laſt Lord's day in which he had ſtrength enough to preach, he preached on the 144. *Pſalm*, the firſt appointed for that day, and when he came to the Words in the ſeventh Verſe, which are alſo repeated in the eleventh Verſe, *Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great Waters, from the hand of ſtrange Children, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh vanity, and whoſe right-hand is a right hand of falſhood.* He repeated them again and again, with ſo much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was haſting to the day of God, and that his Heart was crying out, *Come Lord Jeſus come quickly, how long, how long?* and he dwelt ſo long upon them, with ſo many ſighs, that all the little aſſembly about him melted into Tears, and lookt on this as a preſage of his approaching diſſolution. And it proved too true, for the day after, he ſickned; which on the ſecond day after appeared to be an Ague, and on the fourth day he apprehending his ſpeedy change, called for his Sons, and his Sons Wives, and ſpake to them

at ſeveral times, as near in theſe Words as their memories could ſerve them to write them down ſoon after.

"I am going the way of all fleſh, I "am now ready to be offered up, and "the time of my departure is at hand: "knowing therefore that ſhortly I muſt "put off this Tabernacle, even as our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſhewed me, "I know alſo that if this my earthly "Houſe of this Tabernacle were diſ-"ſolved, I have a building of God, an "Houſe not made with Hands, eternal "in the Heavens, a fair Manſion in the "New *Jeruſalem*, which cometh down "out of Heaven from my God. There-"fore to me to live is Chriſt, and to "dye is gain; which encreaſeth my de-"ſire, even now to depart, and to be with "Chriſt, which is far better, than to "continue here in all the tranſitory, "vain, and falſe pleaſures of this world, "of which I have ſeen an end. Hear-"ken therefore unto the laſt Words of "your dying Father; I am no more in "this World, but ye are in the World; "I aſcend to my Father and your Fa-"ther, to my God and your God, through "the all-ſufficient merits of Jeſus Chriſt

"my

"my Redeemer; who ever lives to "make interceſſion for me, who is a "propitiation for all my ſins, and waſh-"ed me from them all in his own Blood "who is worthy to receive Glory and "Honour, and Power, who hath cre-"ated all things, and for whoſe pleaſure "they are and were created.

"My witneſs is in Heaven, and my "record on high, That I have endea-"voured to glorifie God on Earth, and "in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel of his "dear Son, which was committed to "my truſt; I have finiſhed the Work, "which he gave me to do, as a faith-"ful Embaſſadour of Chriſt, and Stew-"ard of the myſteries of God. I have "preached Righteouſneſs in the great "Congregation: lo I have not refrained "my Lips, O Lord, thou knoweſt. I "have not hid thy righteouſneſs within "my heart, I have declared thy faithful-"neſs, and thy Salvation; I have not "concealed thy loving kindneſs, and "thy truth from the great Congrega-"tion of mankind. He is near that ju-"ſtifieth me, That I have not conceal-"ed the Words of the holy one; but "the Words that he gave to me, I have "given to you, and ye have received "them. I had a deſire and reſolution

" to walk before God (in every ſtation
" of my pilgrimage, from my youth up
" to this day) in truth and with an up-
" right Heart, and to do that which was
" upright in his Eyes, to the utmoſt of
" my power; and what things were
" gain to me formerly, theſe things I
" count now loſs for Chriſt; yea doubt-
" leſs, and I account all things but loſs
" for the excellency of the knowledge of
" Jeſus Chriſt my Lord; for whom I
" have ſuffered the loſs of all things, and
" I account them but Dung, that I may
" win Chriſt, and be found in him, not
" having my own righteouſneſs, which
" is of the Law, but that which is
" through the Faith of Chriſt, the
" righteouſneſs which is of God by
" Faith; that I may know him, and
" the power of his Reſurrection, and
" the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, being
" made conformable unto his Death, I
" preſs therefore towards the mark, for
" the price of the high Calling of God
" in Jeſus Chriſt.

" Let nothing ſeparate you from the
" love of Chriſt, neither tribulation nor
" diſtreſs, nor perſecution, nor famine,
" nor nakedneſs, nor peril, nor Sword;
" though (as ye hear and ſee) for his
" ſake we are killed all the day long,

" we

"we are counted as Sheep for the ſlaugh-
"ter: Yet in all theſe things we are
"more than conquerers, through him
"that loved us: For I am perſwaded,
"That neither Death, nor Life, nor
"Angels, nor Principalities, nor Pow-
"ers, nor things preſent, nor things to
"come, nor heighth, nor depth, nor
"any Creature ſhall be able to ſepa-
"rate me from the love of God in
"Chriſt Jeſu my Lord. Therefore love
"not the World, nor the things of the
"World; but prepare daily and hourly
"for death, (that now beſieges us on
"every ſide) and be faithful unto death;
"that we may meet together joyfully on
"the right-Hand of Chriſt at the laſt
"day, and follow the Lamb whereſo-
"ever he goeth, with all thoſe that are
"cloathed with white Robes, in ſign
"of innocency, and Palms in their Hands
"in ſign of Victory; which came out
"of great tribulation, and have waſhed
"their Robes, and made them white in
"the Blood of the Lamb. They ſhall
"hunger no more, nor thirſt, nei-
"ther ſhall the Sun light on them, or
"any heat; for the Lamb, that is in
"the midſt of the Throne, ſhall feed
"them, and ſhall lead them unto living
"Fountains of Waters, and ſhall wipe

"away all Tears from their Eyes.

"Chuſe rather with *Moſes* to ſuffer "affliction with the people of God, "than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for "a ſeaſon; which will be bitterneſs in "the latter end. Look therefore for "ſufferings, and to be daily made par-"takers of the ſufferings of Chriſt, to "fill up that which is behind of the af-"fliction of Chriſt in your Fleſh, for "his Bodies ſake, which is the Church. "What can you look for, but one woe "after another, while the Man of ſin is "thus ſuffered to rage, and to make ha-"vock of God's people at his pleaſure, "while Men are divided about trifles, "that ought to have been more vigilant "over us, and careful of thoſe, whoſe "Blood is precious in God's ſight, though "now ſhed every where like Water. If "ye ſuffer for righteouſneſs, happy are "ye; be not afraid of their terrour, nei-"ther be ye troubled; and be in no-"thing terrified by your adverſaries; "which is to them an evident token of "perdition, but to you of ſalvation, and "that of God. For to you is given in "the behalf of Chriſt, not only to believe "on him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. "Rejoice therefore in as much as ye are "partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings, that

"when

" when his Glory ſhall be revealed, ye
" may be glad alſo with exceeding joy.
" And if ye be reproached for the name
" of Chriſt, happy are ye; the Spirit
" of glory, and of Chriſt reſteth on you.
" on their part he is evil ſpoken of, but
" on your part he is glorified.

" God will ſurely viſit you in due
" time, and return your captivity as the
" Rivers of the South, and bring you
" back again into your poſſeſſion in this
" Land: though now for a ſeaſon (if
" need be) ye are in heavineſs through
" manifold temptations; yet ye ſhall
" reap in joy, though now ye ſow in
" Tears: all our loſſes ſhall be recompen-
" ced with abundant advantages, for my
" God will ſupply all your need, ac-
" cording to his riches in glory by Je-
" ſus Chriſt, who is able to do exceed-
" ing abundantly for us, above all that
" we are able to ask or think.

After that he bleſſed his Children, and thoſe that ſtood about him, in an audible Voice, in theſe Words. " God " of his infinite mercy bleſs you all, and " preſent you holy, and unblameable, " and unreproveable in his ſight, that " we may meet together at the right- " Hand of our bleſſed Saviour Jeſus

"Chriſt, with joy unſpeakable and full "of glory, *Amen.* To which he added theſe Words, "I have fought a good "fight, I have finiſhed the courſe of my "Miniſtry and life together. Though "grievous Wolves have entered in a-"mong us, not ſparing the Flock; yet "I truſt the great Shepherd of his Flock "will ſave and deliver them out of all "places, where they have been ſcatter-"ed in this cloudy and dark day; that "they ſhall be no more a prey to the "Heathen, neither ſhall the Beaſts of "the Land devour them; but they ſhall "dwell ſafely, and none ſhall make them "afraid. O Lord, I have waited for "thy Salvation. And after a little in-terval, he ſaid, "I have kept the Faith "once given to the Saints; for the which "cauſe I have alſo ſuffered theſe things; "but I am not aſhamed, for I know "whom I have believed, and I am per-"ſwaded that he is able to keep that "which I have committed to him a-"gainſt that day. After this time he ſpoke little; for as his ſickneſs encreaſed, his Speech failed, and he ſlumbered out moſt of the time, only between hands it appeared that he was cheerfully waiting for his change; which at laſt came about Midnight on the *7th.* of *Fe-bruary,*

bruary, that he fell aſleep in the Lord, and entred into his reſt, and obtained his Crown, which in ſome ſort was a Crown of Martyrdom; for no doubt the ſad weight of ſorrow, that lay upon his Mind, and his ill uſage in his Impriſonment, had much haſtened his death: And he ſuffered more in his mind by what he had lived to hear and ſee theſe laſt fifteen Weeks of his Life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the Sword, among the firſt of thoſe that felt the rage of the *Iriſh*. His Friends went about his Burying; and ſince that could not be obtained, but by the new intruding Biſhop's leave, Mr. *Clogy* and Mr. *Shereden* went to ask it, and Mr. *Dillon* was prevailed with by his Wife, to go and ſecond their deſire. They found the Biſhop lying in his own Vomit, and ſaw a ſad change in that Houſe, which was before a Houſe of Prayer, and of Good Works; but was now a Den of Thieves, and a Neſt of uncleanneſs. The Biſhop, when he was awakened out of his Drunkenneſs, excepted a little to it, and ſaid, The Church-Yard was holy Ground, and was no more to be defiled with Heretick's Bodies; yet he conſented to it at laſt. So on the 9*th*. of *February* he was buried

buried according to the direction himſelf had given, next his Wife's Coffin. The *Iriſh* did him unuſual honours at his Burial, for the chief of the Rebells gathered their Forces together, and with them accompanyed his Body from Mr. *Shereden*'s Houſe to the Church-yard of *Kilmore*, in great ſolemnity, and they deſired Mr. *Clogy* to bury him according to the Office preſcribed by the Church; but though the Gentlemen were ſo civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviſeable to provoke the Rabble ſo much, as perhaps that might have done; ſo it was paſt over. But the *Iriſh* diſcharged a Volley of Shot at his Interment, and cryed out in Latin, *Requieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum, May the laſt of the* Engliſh *reſt in peace*: for they had often ſaid, That as they eſteemed him the beſt of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, ſo he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould be left among them.

Thus lived and dyed this excellent Biſhop; in whom ſo many of the greateſt Characters of a Primitive and Apoſtolical Biſhop did ſhew themſelves ſo eminently, that it ſeemed fit that he ſhould ſtill ſpeak to the World, though dead, both for convincing the unjuſt enemies of that venerable Order, and for

for the inſtruction of thoſe that ſucceed him in it; ſince great Patterns give the eaſieſt notions of eminent Vertues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all ſpeculative Diſcourſes can poſſibly have. And as the Lives of the Primitive Chriſtians were a ſpeaking Apology for their Religion, as well as a direction to thoſe that grew up; ſo it is to be hoped that the ſolemn though ſilent language of ſo bright an Example will have the deſired effect both wayes: And then my Author will have a noble reward for his Labours. To this I ſhall add a little of his Character.

He was a tall and graceful perſon; there was ſomething in his looks and carriage that diſcovered what was within, and created a veneration for him. He had an unaffected Gravity in his Deportment, and decent Simplicity in his Dreſs and Apparel. He had a long and broad Beard; for my Author never ſaw a Razor paſs upon his Face. His grey Hairs were a Crown to him, both for Beauty and Honour. His Strength continued firm to the laſt; ſo that the Week before his laſt ſickneſs, he walked about as vigorouſly and nimbly as any of the Company, and leapt over a broad Ditch; ſo that his Sons were amazed

amazed at it, and could ſcarce follow him. His Eyes continued ſo good, that he never uſed Spectacles, nor did he ſuffer any decay in any of his natural Powers, only by a fall in his Childhood he had contracted a deafneſs in his left Ear. He had great Strength and Health of Body, except that a few years before his death, he had ſome ſevere Fits of the Stone, that his ſedentary courſe of life ſeemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful patience. The beſt Remedy that he found for it was to dig in his Garden till he had very much heated himſelf, by which he found a mitigation of his Pain. He took much pleaſure in a Garden, and having brought over ſome curious Inſtruments out of *Italy*, for Racemation, Engrafting, and Inoculating, he was a great Maſter in the uſe of them.

His Judgment and Memory, as they were very extraordinary, ſo they remained with him to the laſt. He alwayes preached without Notes, but often writ down his Meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to ſhew any other learning in his Sermons, but what was proper for opening his Text, and clearing the difficulties in it; which he did by comparing

paring the Originals with the moſt ancient Verſions. His Stile was clear and full, but plain and ſimple; for he abhorred all affectations of pompous Rhetorick in Sermons, as contrary to the ſimplicity of Chriſt. His Sermons did all drive at the great deſign of infuſing in the Hearts of his Hearers right apprehenſions and warm thoughts of the great things of the Chriſtian Religion; which he did with ſo much the more authority, becauſe it appeared that he was much moved himſelf with thoſe things that he delivered to others. He was always at work in his Study, when the affairs of his Function did not lead him out of it. In which his chief imployment was the ſtudy of the Text of the Scripture. He read the Hebrew and the Septuagint ſo much, that they were as familiar to him as the *Engliſh* Tranſlation. He read every Morning the *Pſalms* appointed by the *Common Prayer* for the day in *Hebrew*; or if his Son, or any other that was skilled in the Hebrew, was preſent, he read one Verſe out of the Hebrew, turning it into Latin, and the other read the next, and ſo by turns till they went through them. He had gathered a vaſt heap of critical Expoſitions of Scripture.

Scripture. All this, with his other Manuſcripts, of which there was a great Trunk full, fell into the Hands of the *Iriſh*. He had writ very learned Paraphraſes and Sermons on all thoſe parts of Scripture that were preſcribed to be read in the ſecond Service, but all theſe are loſt. His great Hebrew Manuſcript was happily reſcued out of the hands of thoſe devourers of all ſacred Things, and is to this day preſerved in the Library of *Emmanuel* Colledge: for an *Iriſhman*, whom he had converted, went among his Country Men and brought out that and a few other Books to him.

Every day after Dinner and Supper, there was a Chapter of the Bible read at his Table, whoſoever were preſent, Proteſtants or Papiſts, and Bibles were laid down before every one of the Company, and before himſelf either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his laſt years the *Iriſh* Tranſlation was laid, and he uſually explained the difficulties that occurred. He writ many Books of Controverſie; which was chiefly occaſioned by the engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the converſion of perſons of the *Roman* Communion; and the knowledge he had of that Church,

Church, and their way of Worſhip, by what he had ſeen and obſerved while he was at *Venice*, raiſed in him a great zeal againſt their corruptions. He not only look'd on that Church as Idolatrous, but as the Antichriſtian *Babylon*; concerning which S. *John* ſaw all thoſe Viſions in the *Revelation*: And of this the Sermon, out of which I have made ſome extracts, gives Evidence. He writ a large Treatiſe in anſwer to thoſe two Queſtions, in which the Miſſionaries of that Communion triumph ſo much, *Where was our Religion before* Luther, *and what became of our Anceſtors that dyed in Popery?* Archbiſhop *Uſher* preſt him to have printed it, and he had reſolved to do it, but that, with all his other Works, was ſwallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correſpondence, not only with the Divines of *England*, but with many others over *Europe*; for he writ both Latin and Italian very elegantly. He was very free in his converſation, but talked ſeldome of indifferent matters, he expreſſed a great modeſty of Spirit, and a moderation of temper in every thing he ſpoke, and his Diſcourſe ſtill turned to ſomewhat that made his company uſeful and inſtructing. He ſpoke his own thoughts very

very plainly, and as he bore well with the freedom of others, ſo he took all the diſcreet liberty that became a Man of his Age and ſtation, and did not ſtick to tell even the Learned and Worthy Primate *Uſher*, ſuch things as he thought were blame-worthy in him, and with the ſame ſincerity he ſhewed him ſome critical miſtakes that he met with in ſome of his Works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but they did not agree with the Primates exactneſs in other things, and ſo he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindneſs and humility that was natural to him. His Habit was decent and grave; he wore no Silk, but plain Stuffs; the furniture of his Houſe was not pompous nor ſuperfluous, but neceſſary for common uſe, and proper. His Table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the Country, but there was no luxury in it. Great reſort was made to him, and he obſerved a true hoſpitality in Houſe-keeping. Many poor *Iriſh* families about him were maintained out of his Kitchin: And in the *Chriſtmaſs* time, he had the Poor always eating with him at his own Table; and he brought himſelf to endure

dure both the ſight of their Rags, and their rudeneſs: He was not forward to ſpeak, and he expreſſed himſelf in very few Words in publick companies. At publick Tables he uſually ſat ſilent. Once at the Earl of *Straffford*'s Table, one obſerved, That while they were all talking, he ſaid nothing. So the Primate anſwered, Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him; Upon which that perſon propoſed a queſtion in Divinity to him, and in anſwering it the Biſhop ſhewed both his own ſufficiency ſo well, and puſled the other ſo much, that all at Table, except the Biſhop himſelf, fell a laughing at the other. The greatneſs of his mind, and the undauntedneſs of his Spirit on all occaſions has appeared very evidently in many of the paſſages of his life; but though that height of mind is often accompanied with a great mixture of Pride, nothing of that appeared in the Biſhop. He carried himſelf towards all people with ſuch a gaining humility, that he got into their Hearts: He lived with his Clergy as if they had been his Brethren: When he went his Viſitations, he would not accept of the Invitations that were made him by the great Men of the Country,

but would needs eat with his Brethren in ſuch poor Inns, and of ſuch courſe fare, as the places afforded. A perſon of Quality, that had prepared an entertainment for him during his Viſitation, took his refuſing it ſo ill, that whereas the Biſhop promiſed to come and ſee him after Dinner; as ſoon as he came near his Gate, which was ſtanding open, it was preſently ſhut, on deſign to affront him, and he was kept half an hour knocking at it: the affront was viſible, and when ſome would have had him go away, he would not do it, but ſaid, *They will hear e're long.* At laſt the Maſter came out, and received him with many ſhews of civility, but he made a very ſhort viſit, and though the rudeneſs he met with prevailed not on him, either to reſent it, or to go away upon it, yet it appeared that he underſtood it well enough. He avoided all affectations of ſtate or greatneſs in his carriage: He went about always on foot, when he was at *Dublin*, one Servant only attending on him, except on publick occaſions, that obliged him to ride in Proceſſion among his Brethren. He never kept a Coach: for his ſtrength continued ſo entire that he was alwayes able to ride on Horſeback:

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He avoided the affectations of humility as well as of Pride; the former flowing often from the greater pride of the two, and amidſt all thoſe extraordinary Talents, with which God had bleſt him, it never appeared that he overvalued himſelf, nor deſpiſed others; that he aſſumed to himſelf a Dictatorſhip, or was impatient of contradiction. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind both of his Obligations to purity and humility: It was a flaming Crucible with this Motto in Hebrew, *Take from me all my Tin.* The Word in Hebrew that ſignifies *Tin*, was *Bedil.* This imported that he thought that every thing in himſelf was but baſe alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanſe him from it. His great humility made the ſecreter parts of his goodneſs, as to his private walking with God, leſs known, except as they appeared in that beſt and ſureſt indication of it, which his life and converſation gave; yet if the Rebells had not deſtroyed all his Papers, there would have been found among them great diſcoveries of this; for he kept a daily Journal for many years; but of what ſort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God; ſince no

Man ever ſaw it, unleſs ſome of the Rebells found it. Though it is not probable that they would have taken the pains to examine his Papers, it being more likely that they deſtroyed them all in a heap. He never thought of changing his See, or of riſing up to a more advantagious Biſhoprick, but conſidered himſelf as under a tye to his See, that could not be eaſily diſſolved. So that when the tranſlating him to a Biſhoprick in *England*, was propoſed to him, he refuſed it, and ſaid he ſhould be as troubleſome a Biſhop in *England*, as he had been in *Ireland*.

It appeared he had a true and generous notion of Religion, and that he did not look upon it ſo much as a Syſtem of Opinions, or a ſet of Forms, as a Divine Diſcipline that reforms the Heart and Life; and therefore when ſome Men were valued upon their zeal for ſome leſſer matters, he had thoſe Words of S. *Auguſtine*'s often in his Mouth, *It is not Leaves but Fruit that I ſeek*. This was the true principle of his great zeal againſt Popery: It was not the peeviſhneſs of a party, the ſourneſs of a ſpeculative Man, nor the concern of an intereſted perſon, that wrought on him: But he conſi-

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dered the corruptions of that Church, as an effectual courſe for enervating the true deſign of Chriſtianity; and this he not only gathered from Speculation, but from what he ſaw and knew during his long abode in *Italy*. His Devotion in his Cloſet was only known to him, who commanded him to pray in ſecret. In his Family he prayed alwayes thrice a day, in a ſet Form, though he did not read it: This he did in the Morning, and before Dinner, and after Supper: And he never turned over this duty, or the ſhort Devotions before and after Meat, on his Chaplain, but was always his own Chaplain. He lookt upon the Obligation of obſerving the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and conſidered it as ſo great an Engine for carrying on the true ends of Religion, that as he would never go into the liberties that many practiſed on that day; ſo he was exemplary in his own exact obſervation of it; Preaching alwayes twice, and Catechiſing once; and beſides that, he uſed to go over the Sermons again in his Family, and ſing Pſalms, and concluded all with Prayer.

As for his Domeſtick concerns, he married one of the Family of the L' *Eſtranges*, that had been before married to the Recorder of S. *Edmondsbury*: ſhe proved to be in all reſpects a very fit Wife for him; ſhe was exemplary for her life, humble and modeſt in her Habit and behaviour, and was ſingular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that ſhe payed him: She bore him four Children, three Sons and a Daughter, but one of the Sons and the Daughter dyed young, ſo none ſurvived but *William* and *Ambroſe*. The juſt reputation his Wife was in for her Piety and Vertue, made him chooſe that for the Text of her Funeral Sermon, *A good name is better than Oyntment*. She dyed of a Lethargy three years before the Rebellion broke out; and he himſelf preached her Funeral Sermon, with ſuch a mixture both of tenderneſs and moderation, that it touched the whole Congregation ſo much, that there were very few dry Eyes in the Church, all the while. He did not like the burying in the Church; For, as he obſerved there was much both of Superſtition and Pride in it, ſo he believed it was a great annoyance to the Living, when there was ſo much

much of the ſteam of dead Bodies riſing about them; he was likewiſe much offended at the rudeneſs which the crowding the dead Bodies in a ſmall parcel of Ground, occaſioned; for the Bodies already laid there, and not yet quite rotten, were often raiſed and mangled; ſo that he made a Canon in his Synod againſt burying in Churches, and as he often wiſht that Burying-Places were removed out of all Towns, ſo he did chuſe the moſt remote and leaſt frequented place of the Church-Yard of *Kilmore* for his Wife, and by his Will he ordered that He ſhould be laid next her with this bare Inſcription,

Depoſitum Gulielmi quondam Epiſcopi Kilmorenſis.

Depoſitum cannot bear an *Engliſh* Tranſlation, it ſignifying *ſomewhat given to another in Truſt*, ſo he conſidered his Burial as a truſt left in the Earth till the time that it ſhall be called on to give up its dead.

The modeſty of that Inſcription adds to his Merit, which thoſe who knew him well, believe exceeds even all that this his zealous and worthy Friend does through my hands convey to the World,

for his memory; which will outlive the Marble or the Braſs, and will make him ever to be reckoned one of the ſpeaking and laſting Glories, not only of the Epiſcopal Order, but of the Age in which he lived; and of the two Nations, *England* and *Ireland*, between whom he was ſo equally divided, that it is hard to tell which of them has the greateſt ſhare in him. Nor muſt his Honour ſtop here, he was a living Apology, both for the Reformed Religion, and the Chriſtian Doctrine: And both he that collected theſe Memorials of him, and he that copies them out, and publiſhes them, will think their Labours very happily imployed, if the reading them produces any of thoſe good effects that are intended by them.

As for his two Sons, he was ſatisfied to provide for them in ſo modeſt a way, as ſhewed that he neither aſpired to high things on their behalf, nor did he conſider the Revenue of the Church as a property of his own, out of which he might raiſe a great Eſtate for them. He provided his eldeſt Son with a Benefice of Eighty Pound a Year, in which he

he laboured with that fidelity that became the Son of ſuch a Father; and his ſecond Son, not being a Man of Letters, had a little Eſtate of *60l.* a year given him by the Biſhop; which was the only Purchace that I hear he made; and I am informed, that he gave nothing to his eldeſt Son but that Benefice, which he ſo well deſerved. So little advantage did he give to the enemies of the Church; either to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, againſt the marriage of the Clergy, or to the dividers among our ſelves, againſt the Revenues of the Church: The one ſort objecting that a married ſtate made the Clergy covetous, in order to the raiſing their Families, and the others pretending that the Revenues of the Church being converted by Clergymen into Temporal Eſtates for their Children, it was no Sacriledge to invade that which was generally no leſs abuſed by Churchmen, than it could be by Laymen; ſince theſe Revenues are truſted to the Clergy as Depoſitaries, and not given to them as Proprietors.

May the great Shepherd and Biſhop of Souls, ſo inſpire all that are the Overſeers of that Flock, which he purchaſed with his own Blood, that in imitation of all thoſe glorious patterns that

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are in Church-Hiſtory, and of this in the laſt Age, that is inferior to very few that any former Age produced, they may watch over the Flock of Chriſt, and ſo feed and govern them, that the Mouths of all Adverſaries may be ſtopt, that this Apoſtolical Order recovering its Primitive ſpirit and vigour; it may be received and obeyed with that ſame ſubmiſſion and eſteem, that was payed to it in former times: and that all differences about leſſer matters being laid down, Peace and Truth may again flouriſh, and the true ends of Religion and Church-Government may be advanced, and that inſtead of biting, devouring and conſuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our moſt holy Faith.

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Some Papers related to in the former Hiſtory.

Guilielmus Providentiâ Divinâ, Kilmorenſis Epiſcopus, dilecto in Chriſto, A. B. Fratri & Synpresbytero ſalutem.

AD Vicariam perpetuam Eccleſiæ Parochialis de C. noſtræ Kilmorenſis Diœceſios jam legitimè vacantem, & ad noſtram collationem pleno jure ſpectantem, præſtito per te prius juramento de agnoſcenda & defendenda Regiæ Majeſtatis ſuprema poteſtate in omnibus cauſis tam Eccleſiaſticis quam Civilibus, intra ditiones ſuas, deque Anglicano ordine, habitu & Lingua pro Viribus in dictam Parochiam introducendis, juxta formam Statutorum hujus Regni; necnon de perpetua & perſonali Reſidentia tua in Vicaria prædicta, quodque nullum aliud See p. 77.

Beneficium

Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum una cum ea retinebis: deque Canonica obedientia nobis ac Succeſſoribus noſtris Epiſcopis Kilmorenſ. præſtanda, te admittimus, inſtituimus, & canonicè inveſtimus: Curamque Animarum Parochionarum, ibidem commorantium, tibi committimus, per Præſentes. Obteſtantes in Domino, & pro obedientia qua ſummo Paſtori teneris injungentes: ut ejus Gregem quem ſuo ſanguine acquiſivit, tibi commiſſum, diligenter paſcas, & in Fide Catholica inſtituas, officia divina Lingua à populo intellecta, peragas; exemplar ante omnia teipſum præbeas fidelibus in bonis operibus, ut erubeſcant Adverſarii, nihil habentes quod in te reprehendant. Mandantes inſuper dilecto Fratri, Thomæ Archidiacono Kilmorenſi, ut te in realem & actualem poſſeſſionem dictæ Vicariæ de C. inducat, cum effectu, in quorum omnium fidem & Teſtimonium Sigillum noſtrum Epiſcopale Præſentibus appoſuimus. Datum ſeptimo die Maii, anno Salutis, 1640.

Guiliel. Kilmorenſis.

Decreta

Decreta primæ Synodi Kilmorenſis.

In nomine Domini Dei & Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

REgnante in perpetuum, ac gubernante Eccleſiam ſuam, eodem Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, annoque imperii, ſereniſſimi Principis ac domini Caroli, Dei gratia, magnæ Britanniæ & Hiberniæ Regis, decimo quarto, cum ad Eccleſiam Cathedralem Kilmorenſem, monitu Guilielmi Epiſcopi conveniſſet Capitulum totius Diœceſios, ad Synodum Diœceſianam celebrandam, poſt fuſas ad Deum Preces pro publica Pace, Regiſque, & Familiæ Regiæ incolumitate, & peracta ſacra Synaxi, verba fecit Epiſcopus de ejuſmodi Synodorum Antiquitate, neceſſitate & Authoritate, & cum veniſſet in conſultationem, quibus rationibus, & fidei ſinceritas, & morum ſanctitas, & decor Domus Dei, & Miniſtrorum libertas conſervari poſſet, nihil conducibilius viſum eſt, quam ut ea quæ à Patribus bene ac prudenter

See p. 77.

denter Antiquitus inſtituta ſunt, quæ poſtliminii jure revocarentur, atque ita ſtatu inter nos habito, ad extremum in hæc capitula unanimiter conſenſum eſt.

I. *Synodum Diœceſanam ſive Capitulum quotannis tertia & quarta feria ſecundæ hebdomadæ Menſis Septembris in Eccleſia Kilmorenſi tenendam, eum diem huic conventui ſtatum, & ſolennem fore ſine ullo mandato; ſi res poſcat in cæteris ordinationum temporibus Presbyterium contrahi, Epiſcopi mandatum expectandum.*

II. *In Epiſcopi abſentia aut morbo, Vicarius ejus ſi Presbyter fuerit, preſidebit, alioqui Archidiaconus qui de jure Vicarius eſt Epiſcopi.*

III. *Vicarius Epiſcopi in poſterum nullus conſtituatur aut confirmetur qui laicus eſt, nec quiſquam prorſus niſi durante duntaxat beneplacito.*

IV. *Ut Archidiaconus de triennio in triennium Diœceſin perſonaliter viſitet, ſingularum Eccleſiarum, Ædiumque manſionalium ſarta tecta tueatur, libros & ornamenta in indiculo deſcriptos habeat,*

at, defectus omnes supplendos curet; Episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, ea conditione ut Episcopus illo Anno non visitet.

V. *Ut secundum pristinam & antiquam hujus Diœcesios Kilmorensis constitutionem in tribus ejus regionibus, tres Decani sint, ab ipsis Ministris ejusdem Decanatus eligendi, qui vitam & mores cleri jugi circumspectione custodiant, & ad Episcopum referant, ejusque mandata accipiant, & quoties opus erit per apparitorem Decanatus ad Compresbyteros suos transmittant.*

VI. *In quovis Decanatu, in oppido ejus principali, conventus, sive Capitulum sit Ministrorum quolibet saltem Mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus, concionentur per vices sine longis precibus & proœmiis.*

VII. *Advocationes Ecclesiarum nondum vacantium quæ ad collationem Episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.*

VIII. *Possessiones Ecclesiæ non alienentur aut locentur contra Regni jura, nempe terrarum Mensalium nulla sit locatio,*

catio, niſi quoad Epiſcopus in Sede ant vita ſuperſit, cæterarum in plures annos, quam leges ſinunt, aut prioribus locationibus, triennio minus nondum expletis.

IX. *Ut Corpora defunctorum deinceps in Eccleſiis non humentur, ſed nec intra quintum pedem à pariete extrorſum.*

X. *Ut mulieres in Sacrario non ſedeant, ſed infra Cancellos, & quidem à viris.*

XI. *Ut Sacrarium in conſiſtorium non convertatur, aut ſacra Menſa Notariis aut Scribis ſit pro pluteo.*

XII. *Ne in funeribus mulieres luctum aut ullulatum facient.*

XIII. *Ut Oſſa defunctorum in Cœmeteriis non coacerventur, ſed tradantur ſepulturæ.*

XIV. *Ut matricula ſit, in quam referantur nomina eorum qui ad ſacros ordines admiſſi ſunt, aut inſtituti, aut admiſſi ad Beneficia, ſive ad curam Animarum coaptati; clericorum item Parochiali-*

um

um & Ludimagiſtrorum, neque deinceps ad literas teſtimoniales in viſitationibus exhibendas adigatur.

XV. *Ne quis Miniſter Oblationes ad Funera, Baptiſmum, Euchariſtiam, Nuptias, poſt puerperium; aut portionem Canonicam cuiquam locet.*

XVI. *Ne quis ejuſmodi oblata acerbe exigat, præſertim a pauperibus.*

XVII. *Ut fas ſit Miniſtro à ſacra Cœna repellere eos qui ſe ingerunt ad Synaxin, neque nomina ſua pridie Parocho ſignificarunt.*

XVIII. *Ut pueri ſaltem à ſeptimo ætatis Anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impoſitionem, ſtent inter Catechumenos, factoque Catalogo, ſingulis dominicis certus eorum numerus ſiſtatur in Eccleſia examinandus.*

XIX. *Si quis Miniſter quenquam ex fratribus ſuis alibi accuſaverit priuſquam Epiſcopo denunciet, ab ejus conſortio cæteri omnes abſtinebunt.*

XX. *Clerici comam ne nutriant, & habitu Clericali prout Synodo Dublinienſi*

nienſi inſtitutum eſt, incedant.

XXI. *OEconomi Parochiarum provideant ne in Eccleſia tempore cultus divini pueruli diſcurſent, utque canes arceantur, conſtitutis Oſtiariis, vel mulcta impoſita, ſi quis ſemel atque iterum admonitus canem ſecum in Eccleſiam introduxerit.*

Ut nulla Excommunicationis ſententia feratur ab uno ſolo Miniſtro, ſed ab Epiſcopo, aſſiſtentibus quotquot in Capitulo fuerint præſentes.

Hæc Decreta Synodalia, quoniam ex uſu hujus Diœceſios futura credimus, & ipſi obſervabimus, & quantum in nobis eſt ab aliis obſervanda curabimus, adeoque Manûs ſuæ quiſque ſubſcriptione corroboremus.

Septemb. 19. 1638.

Recuſatio

Recuſatio 24. Articulorum Epiſcopi Kilmorenſis.

CORam vobis venerabilibus Viris Georgio Riv. Legum Doctore, & Guilielmo Hilton Artium Magiſtro, Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris Jacobi providentia divina Armachani Archiepiſcopi, totius Hiberniæ Primatis, nec non Judicis, Præſidis, ſive Commiſſarii Curiæ Regiæ Prærogativæ pro cauſis Eccleſiaſticis, & ad facultates in & per totum regnum Hiberniæ, Regia authoritate legitime conſtituti, ſubſtitutis ſive ſurrogatis, ut vulgo creditur, Ego Guilielmus Kilmorenſis Epiſcopus cum debita vobis reverentia propono, Quod licet ante hoc exceptionem quandam declinatoriam juriſdictionis veſtræ in quadam prætenſa cauſa duplicis querelæ mota à Guilielmo Bayly clerico Diœceſios Kilmorenſis juſtis de cauſis interpoſuerim, ac nominatim propter incompetentiam fori, per abſentiam Reverendiſſimi Præſidis, & ſuſpicio-

nem animi veſtri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem reverendiſſimo Præſide, aliiſve æquis arbitris probandas in me recepi, ac licet etiam pro parte mea, venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry ſacræ Theologiæ Profeſſorem elegerim ac nominaverim: Vos tamen dictæ recuſationi meæ non modo deferre recuſaſtis, ſed novis inſuper & pluribus indiciis animum veſtrum mihi infenſum prodidiſtis; ea propter ego Epiſcopus antedictus animo non prorogandi, ſed expreſſius & particularius contra juriſdictionem & perſonas veſtras excipiendo, dico & allego.

I. *Inprimis quod prætenſa querela dicti Guilielmi Bayly oritur ex ſententia quadam in cauſa correctionis ex officio meo Epiſcopali, & juſſu illuſtriſſimi Proregis, in qua ſi modum exceſſerim, legitima appellatio erat ad Synodum Provinciæ, vel Conſiſtorium Archiepiſcopale.*

II. *Quod dictus Bayly à Sententia prædicta judicialiter & viva voce appellavit, unde ſervato ordine juriſdictionum ex decreto nuperi Synodi Dublinenſis cauſæ cognitio, omiſſo intermedio Archiepiſcopali Conſiſtorio, devolvi non poteſt ad hanc Curiam.*

III. *Quod*

III. *Quod firmamentum defenſionis dicti Bayly nititur facultate quadam ab hac Curia conceſſa; cum vero nemo ſit idoneus judex in propria cauſa, ſatis inverecunde vos hic inquiritis.*

IV. *Quod regiæ Majeſtati cognitio abuſivarum facultatum in ipſa lege reſervatur expreſſis verbis, ut hoc forum veſtrum, à quo ejuſmodi facultates emanant, huic rei incompetens ſit.*

V. *Quod ſub nomine Reverendiſſimi Primatis Armachani deliteſcentes tenorem Commiſſionis veſtræ non inſeritis citationibus veſtris, ut neſciatur nedum quod, aut quatenus vobis commiſſum ſit, ſed an omnino ab ipſo ſurrogati.*

VI. *Quod juriſdictione veſtra non fundata, illud ſatis ſcitur, homines vere Laicos in Epiſcopos ex executione Epiſcopalis officii nullam habere poteſtatem.*

VII. *Quod litem veſtram facitis, dum in citatione veſtra, narratis à me geſta in præjudicum juriſdictionis Curiæ Regiæ prærogativæ, & ad facultates cedere, ejuſque contemptum, ex quo conſtat (fatente actore) hanc cauſam ad commodum*

& honorem veſtrum ſpectare.

VIII. *Quod ut quoquo modo proceſſum veſtrum defendatis, fingitis cauſam eſſe duplicis querelæ, cum nulla ſit hic mutua petitio aut reconventio aut querela, niſi ſimplex tantum.*

IX. *Quod nimium favorem & propenſitatem ad partem dicti Guilielmi Bayly oſtendatis, cum probum virum & diſſertum appellatis cauſa nondum diſcuſſa; cum accuſatorem Epiſcopi ſui, Canones Eccleſiaſtici, nec laudandum, nec facile audiendum, & niſi cauſam probaverit, infamem haberi volunt.*

X. *Quod cauſa nondum audita in ea pronunciaſtis, dum dictum Bayly, Vicarium de Dyne appellatis, qua tamen Vicaria ſe à me ſpoliatum conqueritur.*

XI. *Quod vetus mihi litigium eſt vobiſcum ſuper inſtitutionibus (quas hæc Curia uſurpavit,) ex quo in admiſſione Nicolai Prenard ad Vicariam de Kildromferton, proteſtationem interpoſui, quam tu Guilielme Hilton indign⁹ tuliſti, eaque non obſtante, & illum, & multos alios inſtituiſti, reclamantibus Epiſcopis, quo*

quo nomine ergo, iniqui eſtis, non mihi tantum, ſed æque omnibus.

XII. *Quod cum nuper de prima Citatione veſtra conqueſtus eſſem apud illuſtriſſimum Præſidem in qua Majeſtas læſa videbatur, vos ea de cauſa, haud diſſimulanter iratos habui.*

XIII. *Quod comparentem ex ea Citatione, ad Tribunal veſtrum, expectare & per ſeſquihoram inambulare, tanquam ex infima plebecula coegiſtis.*

XIV. *Quod cum proximo die juridico à vobis dimiſſus eſſem ſub hac formula, quod me non moraremini, quod nihil habuiſtis mihi objiciendum, tu tamen Guilielme Hilton poſt paulo dixiſti futurum ut denuo citarer, ex quo conſiliorum communicationem cum dicto Guilielmo Bayly prodidiſti.*

XV. *Quod cum ſecunda Citatio minus ſuccederet, perperam facta, ſub nomine Epiſcopi Liſmorenſis, tu idem Guilielme Hilton actorem admonuiſti, ut de integro inciperet.*

XVI. *Quod cum tertio citatus Recuſationem quandam juriſdictionis veſtræ,*

oppoſuiſſem propter incompetentiam & ſuſpicionem, quarum cauſas paratus eram coram arbitris oſtendere, vos jam non admiſiſtis ut oportuit, ſed in proximum diem juridicum ſuper ea deliberaſtis.

XVII. *Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem veſtram ſuper recuſatione prædicta cum cerneretis ad Tribunal veſtrum appropinquantem, ſurrexiſtis illico, & quanquam nec Auditorio egreſſi eratis, nec Præco populum miſſum feciſſet, nec hora effluxerat, renuiſtis me Epiſcopum antedictum comparentem audire, ut haberetis aliquem colorem me contumacem pronunciandi.*

XVIII. *Quod cum proximo die juridico comparuiſſem, & contumaciam mihi falſo impoſitam purgaſſem, & iterata prædicta Recuſatione & arbitrum probationis pro parte mea reverendum Virum Edwardum Parry ſacræ Theologiæ Profeſſorem nominaſſem, vos hæc admittere recuſaſtis, ſed me ad libellum accipiendum & Procuratorem conſtituendum adigere voluiſtis.*

XIX. *Quod in Acta Curiæ referri curaſtis, me non comparuiſſe, & in iiſdem narratis tamen, me præſentem admonitum*

fuiſſe

fuiſſe de comparendo de die in diem uſque ad finem litis, in altero imperite, in altero inepte, in utroque (ſalva reverentia vobis debita) injuſte.

XX. *Quod Sigillum officii curiæ Regiæ Prærogativæ, & ad facultates, diſpenſationibus circa Pluralitatem Beneficiorum & Reſidentiam temerarie profuſis, & interdum legi divinæ repugnantibus apponitis.*

XXI. *Quod Epiſcoporum juriſdictionem & ordinariam & excitatam a ſupremo Magiſtratu impedire, ipſos ad Tribunal veſtrum protrahere, vexare & vilipendere non veremini.*

XXII. *Quod eorum jura Epiſcopalia in inſtitutionibus notorie uſurpaſtis.*

XXIII. *Quod reſcripta conceditis, in quibus multa, quoad ſenſum inepta, quoad verba incongrua continentur, quibus ideo de jure nulla fides adhibenda ſit; cujuſmodi ſunt quæ ſub ſigillo veſtro in hac cauſa emanarunt.*

XXIV. *Quod nuper in hac eadem cauſa, ſigillum veſtrum literis, in quibus Regia Majeſtas læſa fuerit, apponebatur minus diſcrete,*

diſcrete, ne quid gravius dicam, judex tamen indiſcretus quoad recuſationem iniquo æquiparatur.—Has ob cauſas, quas omnes aut earum plurimas ego Epiſcopus antedictus coram æquis arbitris verificare paratus ſum (adeoque reverendum virum Edwardum Parry, S. Theologiæ Doctorem, ex parte mea nomino) veſtrum Tribunal, abſente reverendo Præſide, veſtraſque perſonas, tanquam mihi merito in hac cauſa ſuſpectas, declino & recuſo ad quemcunque juris effectum.

Dublin. anno
Domini 1638.

Reverendo

Reverendo in Chriſto Fratri Eugenio Guilielmus Eccleſiæ Kilmorenſis Miniſter S. P.

BEnigne tu quidem (reverende Frater) qui tua præſentia te mihi offers in hoc tumultu præſidio fore. Nec ego in re ſimili impar tibi in hoc charitatis officio deprehenderer. Sed quo minus hoc tuo beneficio utar in præſentia, multis impedior. In primis loci anguſtiis, tum calamitoſorum omnis ordinis, ſexus, ætatis, numero; qui huc tanquam ad Aſylum confugiunt. Accedit quorundam & inter hos Filii mei invaletudo. Quod caput eſt, non Religionis inter nos (unica nempe ea eſt & communis Chriſtiana, quod ego ſemper & ſenſi & ſcriptis profeſſus ſum) ſed cultus diſparitas: nos nempe in ejuſmodi miſeriis, lectione ſacrarum Scripturarum, precibus aſſiduis Lingua Vernacula ad Deum fuſis, nos ipſos ſolamur; & quando in humanis tam parum Fidei eſt, Fidem & Opem Divinam imploramus. Ea res ſi non te, at comites tuos offenderet, nec prohiberi poſſent, qui te hic commorantem viſitare ſe velle dicerent: Quo prætextu circumcelliones iſti irrumperent, qui

qui cum cætera omnia noſtra deripuerunt, ad extremum, ſe nece noſtra cultum Deo gratum exhibituros opinantur. Mihi igitur certum eſt in divino præſidio acquieſcere, Chriſtianc homini & quidem Epiſcopo jam pene Septuagenario, Chriſti cauſa, nulla mors acerba eſſe poteſt, nulla non oppetenda. Interea ſi quid tibi viſum fuerit interdicere apud populum ſub Anathemate; ne deinceps, concuſſis, ſpoliatis, toties exutis vim adferant, (mihi nempe ſoli nihil poſco) rem facies Deo gratam, tibi honorificam, populo iſti (ſi tibi obtemperaverit) ſalutarem; ſin minus, at ſperate Deum memorem. Cui te, reverende Frater, ex animo commendo.

Tuus in Chriſto,

Nov. 11. 1641. *G. Kilmorenſis.*

An

An Advertiſement concerning a Character given by Sir Henry Wotton *of F.* Paul *the Author of the Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

SInce there was ſo particular a mention made of Father *Paul* in the former Life, I thought it would not be unacceptable to the Reader to ſee a Character that was given of him by Sir *Henry Wotton*, in a Letter that he writ from *Venice* to the Famous and Learned Dr. *Collings*, the Kings Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, which is not printed in his *Remains*: And therefore I hoped it would be received with the entertainment that is due to every thing that comes from ſuch a Hand, and is writ on ſuch a Subject. And we may better depend on Characters that are given in private Letters to Friends, than in more ſtudied Elogies, where the heat either of friendſhip or Eloquence is apt to carry a Man too far; but Letters that paſs among Friends, are colder and more careleſs things, and therefore they ought to be the leſs ſuſpected.

Sir,

SIR,

THough my Feet cannot perform that Counſel which I remember from ſome Tranſlation in Siracides, Teras limen ſenſati viri; yet I ſhould at leaſt have often viſited you with my poor Lines: But on the other ſide, while I durſt not truſt mine own conceit in the power of my preſent infirmity, and therefore have ſeldome written to any; I find my ſelf in the mean time overcharged with divers Letters from you of ſingular kindneſs, and one of them accompanied with a dainty peaceful piece: which truly I had not ſeen before, ſo as beſides the weight of the Subject, it was welcome, even for the Grace of newneſs. Yet let me tell you, I could not but ſomewhat wonder to find our Spiritual Seneca (you know whom I mean) among theſe Reconcilers, having read a former Treatiſe of his (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion. Howſoever, let him now have his due praiſe with the reſt, for ſhewing his Chriſtian Wiſdom and Charity. But I fear, as it was antiently ſaid of a Roman General, That Bellum ſeſe alit, ſo it will prove, though in ſomewhat a different ſenſe, likewiſe as true of this Church-warfare,

warfare, That the very pleaſure of contending will foment Contention till the end of all fleſh. But let me leave that Sacred Buſineſs to our well-meaning Fathers.

And now, Sir, having a fit Meſſenger, and being not long after the time when love-tokens uſe to paſs between Friends, let me be bold to ſend you for a New-Years-Gift, a certain Memorial not altogether unworthy of ſome entertainment under your Roof, namely a true Picture of Padre Paulo the Servite, which was firſt taken by a Painter, whom I ſent unto him from my Houſe, then neighbouring this Monaſtery. I have newly added thereunto a Title of mine own conception, and had ſent the Frame withal if it were portable, which is but of plain Deal coloured black like the Habit of his Order. You have a luminous Parlor, which I have good cauſe to remember, not only by delicate Fare, and Freedome (the Prince of Diſhes) but above all your own learned Diſcourſe; for to dine with you is to dine with many good Authors. In that Room, I beſeech you to allow it a favourable place for my ſake.

Concil. Trident. eviſcerator.

And that you may have ſomewhat to tell of him more than a bare Image, if any ſhall aſk, as in the Table of Cebes; I am deſirous to characterize a little unto you

you ſuch part of his Nature, Cuſtomes and Abilities, as I had occaſion to know by ſight or enquiry. He was one of the humbleſt things that could be ſeen within the bounds of Humanity; the very Pattern of that Precept, Quanto doctior, tanto ſubmiſſior; *and enough alone to demonſtrate that Knowledge well digeſted* non inflat; *excellent in Poſitive, excellent in Scholaſtical and Polemical Divinity; a rare Mathematician, even in the moſt abſtruſe parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theoricks; and yet withal ſo expert in the Hiſtory of Plants, as if he had never peruſed any book but Nature: Laſtly, A great Canoniſt, which was the Title of his ordinary Service with the State: And certainly in the time of the Popes Interdict, they had their principal Light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to ſit fenced with a Caſtle of Paper about his Chair, and over Head; for he was of our Lord of S.* Alban's *Opinion, That all Air is prædatory, and eſpecially hurtful, when the Spirits are moſt imployed. You will find a Scar in his Face, that was from a* Roman *Aſſaſſinate that would have killed him, as he was turned to the Wall near his Covent; and if there were not a greater Providence about us, it might*

might often have been eaſily done, eſpecially upon ſuch a weakly and weariſh Body. He was of a quiet and ſettled temper, which made him prompt in his counſels, and anſwers, and the ſame in Conſultations which Themiſtocles *was in Action, as will appear unto you in a Paſſage between him and the Prince of* Conde; *The ſaid Prince in a voluntary journey toward* Rome *came to* Venice, *where to give ſome vent to his own humours, he would often deveſt himſelf of his greatneſs, and after other leſs laudable curioſities, not long before his departure, a deſire took him to viſit the famous obſcure Servite, to whoſe Cloyſter coming twice he was the firſt time denied to be within; at the ſecond it was intimated, That by reaſon of his daily admiſſion to their deliberatives in the place he could not receive the viſit of ſo illuſtrious a perſonage, without leave from the Senate, which he would ſeek to procure. This ſet a great edge on the Prince, when he ſaw he ſhould confer with one participant of more than Monkiſh Speculations: So after leave gotten, he came the third time, and there beſides other voluntary diſcourſe (which it were a tyranny over you to repeat) he aſſailed with a queſtion, enough to have troubled any Man but himſelf, and him*

too, if a precedent accident had not eaſed him. The queſtion was this: He deſired to be told by him before his going away, who was the true unmasked Author of the late Tridentine *Hiſtory. You muſt know, that but newly advertiſement was come from* Rome, *That the Archbiſhop of* Spalato *being there arrived from* England, *in an interview between him and the Cardinal* Ludoviſio, *Nephew to* Gregory XV. *the ſaid Cardinal after a complemental welcoming of him into the Lap of the Church, told him by order from the Pope, That his Holineſs would expect from him ſome Recantation in Print, as an antidote againſt certain Books and Pamphlets, which he had publiſhed whilſt he ſtood in revolt, namely his firſt* Manifeſto: Item, *Two Sermons preached at the* Italian *Church in* London. *Again, a little Treatiſe intituled,* Scogli. *And laſtly, His great Volumes about Church Regiment and Controuerſies: Theſe were all named; for as touching the* Tridentine *Hiſtory, his Holineſs, ſaith the Cardinal, will not preſs you to any diſavowment thereof, though you have an Epiſtle before the Original Edition, becauſe we know well enough that Fryer* Paulo *is the Father of that Brat. Upon this laſt Piece of the aforeſaid Advertiſement the good*

Father

Father came fairly off; for on a ſudden, laying all together, that to diſavow the Work was an untruth, to aſſume it a danger, and to ſay nothing, an Incivility; he took a middle Evaſion, telling the Prince, That he underſtood he was going to Rome, *where he might learn at eaſe who was the Author of that Work, as they were freſhly intelligenced from thence. Thus without any mercy of your time, I have been led along from one thing to another, while I have taken pleaſure to remember that Man whom God appointed and furniſhed for a proper Inſtrument to anatomize that Pack of reverend Cheaters. Among whom, I ſpeak of the greater part,* Exceptis ſenioribus, *Religion was ſhuffled like a Pair of Cards, and the Dice ſo many Years were ſet upon us.*

And ſo wiſhing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breath, till you have opened theſe incloſed.

ERRATA.

PAg. 79. Margent, for 1. read 2. p. 105. l. 29. after *Correction* del. . p. 115. l. 13. for *Underſtanding* r. *an undertaking*. p. 122. l. 16. after *Oath* r. *not*, l. ult. for *Baily's Clerk* r. *Baily*. p. 129. l. 18. for 1630 r. 1638. p. 132. l. 18. before *as* r. *ſuch*. p. 142. l. 12. for *thoſe Articles* r. *theſe Articles*. p. 150. l. 15. for *ther* r. *their*. p. 206. l. 10. after *carried* r. *themſelves*, l. 25. for *Forker* r. *Forbes*.

THE COPIES OF CERTAIN LETTERS

Which have passed between

SPAIN & ENGLAND

In matter of

RELIGION,

CONCERNING

The general Motives to the ROMAN OBEDIENCE,

BETWEEN

Mr. *James Waddesworth*, a late Pensioner of the holy Inquisition in *Sevil*, and *W. Bedell*, a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in *Suffolk*.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year MDCLXXXV.

To the moſt

HIGH & EXCELLENT

PRINCE,

Prince *CHARLES.*

I Should labour much in my excuſe, even to my own Judgment, of the higheſt boldneſs, in daring to preſent theſe Papers to your Highneſs; if there were not ſome relieving Circumſtances, that give me hope, it ſhall not be diſagreeable to your higher Goodneſs. There is nothing can ſee the light, which hath the name of *Spain* in it, which ſeems not now properly yours, ever ſince it pleaſed you to honour that Country with your preſence. And thoſe very Motives to the Roman obedience, which had been repreſented unto you there, in caſe you had given way to the propounding them, are in theſe Letters cha-

charitably and calmly examined; Between a couple of Friends, bred in the ſame Colledge (that of the foundation of Sir *Walter Mildway* of bleſſed Memory, whom with Honour and Thankfulneſs I name) choſen his Scholars at the ſame Election, lodged in the ſame Chamber, after Miniſters in the ſame Dioceſs. And that they might be matchable abroad as well as at home, Attendants in the ſame rank as Chaplains, on two honourable Ambaſſadours of the Majeſty of the King your Father in Foreign parts; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Spain*. Where, one of them having changed his Profeſſion, and received a Penſion out of the Holy Inquiſition Houſe, and drawn his Wife and Children thither, was lately often in the Eyes of your Highneſs: Very joyful I ſuppoſe to ſee you there, not more I am ſure, than the other was ſolicitous to miſs you here. Theſe paſſages between us I have hitherto forborn to divulge, out of the hope of further anſwer from Mr. *Waddeſworth*, according to his Promiſe; though ſince the receipt of my laſt (being ſilent to my ſelf) he excuſed him in ſundry his Letters to others

by

by his lack of Health. Nor ſhould I have changed my reſolution, but that I underſtand that preſently after your Highneſſes departure from *Spain*, he departed this Life. Which News, though it grieve me as it ought in reſpect of the loſs of my Friend, yet it ſomewhat contenteth me, not to have been lacking in my endeavour, to the undeceiving a well-meaning man touching the ſtate of our differences in Religion; nor as I hope to have ſcandalized him in the manner of handling them. And conceiving theſe Copies may be of ſome publick uſe, the more being lifted up above their own meanneſs by ſo high Patronage, I have adventured to prefix your Highneſſes name before them. Humbly beſeeching the ſame, that if theſe Reaſons be too weak to bear up the preſumption of this Dedication, it may be charged upon the ſtrong deſire ſome way to expreſs the unſpeakable joy for your Highneſſes happy return into *England*, of one amongſt many thouſands,

Of your Highneſſes moſt humble
and devoted Servants,

W. Bedell.

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THE

THE COPIES OF Certain LETTERS

Which have paſſed between

SPAIN and ENGLAND

In matter of

RELIGION.

-|-

Salutem in Crucifixo.

To the Worſhipful, my good Friend Mr. William Bedell, *&c.*

Mr. Bedell,

MY very loving Friend: After the old plain faſhion, I ſalute you heartily, without any new fine complements or affected Phraſes. And by my inquiry, underſtanding of this Bearer, that after your being at *Venice*, you had paſſed

paſſed to *Conſtantinople*, and were returned to S. *Edmundsbury*, in ſafety, and with health, I was exceeding glad thereof; for I wiſh you well as to my ſelf: and he telling me further, that to morrow, God willing, he was to depart from hence to imbark for *England*, and offering me to deliver my Letters, if I would write unto you, I could not omit by theſe haſty ſcribled lines to ſignifie unto you the continuance of my ſincere love, never to be blotted out of my breaſt (if you kill it not with unkindneſs, like Mr. *Joſeph Hall*) neither by diſtance of place, nor ſucceſs of time, nor difference of Religion. For (contrary to the ſlanders raiſed againſt all, becauſe of the offences committed by ſome) we are not taught by our Catholick Religion, either to diminiſh our natural obligation to our native Country, or to alter our moral affection to our former friends.

And although for my change becoming *Catholick*, I did expect of ſome Revilers to be termed rather than proved an *Apoſtata*, yet I never looked for ſuch terms from Mr. *Hall*, whom I eſteemed either my Friend, or a modeſter Man; whoſe flanting Epiſtle I have not anſwered, becauſe I would not foil my Hands with a poetical Railer, more full with froth of Words than ſubſtance of Matter, and of whom according to his beginning, I could not expect any ſound Arguments but vain Flouriſhes, and ſo much, I pray, let him know from me, if you pleaſe.

Unto

Unto your ſelf, my good Friend, who do underſtand better than Mr. *Hall*, what the Doctors in Schools do account *Apoſtaſie*, and how it is more and worſe than *Hereſie*, I do refer both him and my ſelf, whether I might not more probably call him Heretick, than he term me at the firſt daſh *Apoſtata*: But I would abſtain from ſuch biting *Satyrs*. And if he, or any other, will needs faſten upon me ſuch bitter terms, let them firſt prove that, *In all points of Faith I have fallen totally from Chriſtian Religion*, as did *Julian* the *Apoſtata*: For ſo is Apoſtaſie deſcribed and differenced from Hereſie. *Apoſtaſia eſt error, hominis baptizati, contrarius Fidei Catholicæ ex toto*: and *Hæreſis eſt error pertinax, hominis baptizati, contrarius Fidei Catholicæ ex parte*. So that he ſhould have ſhewed, firſt, my errors in matters of Faith; not any error in other Queſtions, but in decreed *matters of Faith* (as Proteſtants uſe to ſay) *neceſſary to Salvation*. Secondly, That ſuch errors were maintained with obſtinate *pertinacy*; and pertinacy is, where ſuch errors are defended *againſt the conſent and determination of the Catholick Church*; and alſo knowing that the whole Church teacheth the contrary to ſuch opinions, yet will perſiſt in them: And yet further, if there be any doubt, he muſt manifeſt unto me which is the *Catholick Church*. Thirdly, to make it full *Apoſtaſie*, he ſhould have convinced me to have ſwarved and backſlidden (as you know the Greek Word ſignifies) like *Julian* renouncing his Baptiſm, and

and forſaken *totally all Chriſtian Religion*: a horrible imputation, though falſe, nor ſo eatily proved as declaimed: But I thank God daily that I am become *Catholick*, as all our Anceſtors were till of late years, and as the moſt of Chriſtendome ſtill be at this preſent day, with whom I had rather be miſcalled *a Papiſt*, *a Traytor*, *an Apoſtata*, or *Idolater*, or what he will, than to remain a *Proteſtant* with him ſtill. For in Proteſtant Religion I could never find Uniformity of a ſettled Faith, and ſo no quietneſs of Conſcience, eſpecially for three or four years before my coming away, although by reading, ſtudying, praying, and conferring, I did moſt carefully and diligently labour to find it among them.

II. But your contrariety of Sects and Opinions of *Lutherans*, *Zwinglians*, *Calviniſts*, *Proteſtants*, *Puritans*, *Cartwrightiſts*, and *Browniſts*, ſome of them damning each other; many of them avouching their Poſitions to be *matters of Faith* (for if they made them but School Queſtions *of Opinion* only, they ſhould not ſo much have diſquieted me) and all theſe being ſo contrary, yet every one pretending Scriptures, and arrogating

III. the Holy Ghoſt in his favour. And above all (which did moſt of all trouble me) about the deciding of theſe and all other Controverſies which might ariſe, I could not find among all theſe Sects any *certain humane external Judge*, ſo *infallibly to interpret Scriptures*, and by them and by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt ſo undoubtedly to *define* queſtions

ſions of Faith, that I could aſſure my-ſelf and my Soul, *This Judge is infallible; and to him thou oughteſt in Conſcience to obey* and yield thy *underſtanding in all his determinations of Faith, for he cannot erre in* thoſe Points. And note that I ſpeak now of an *external, humane, infallible Judge.* For I know the Holy Ghoſt is the *Divine internal and principal Judge*; and the Scriptures be the *Law* or *Rule*, by which that humane external Judge muſt proceed. But the *Holy Scriptures* being often the *Matter* of Controverſie, and ſometime queſtioned which be Scriptures, and which be not, they alone of themſelves cannot be Judges: And for the Holy Ghoſt likewiſe every one pretending him to be his Patron, how ſhould I certainly know by whom he ſpeaketh, or not? For to *Men* we muſt go to learn, and not to *Angels*, nor to *God himſelf immediately.* The Head of your Church was the *Queen* (an excellent notable *Prince*) but a *Woman*, not to ſpeak, much leſs to be *Judge* in the Church; and ſince a *learned King*, like King *Henry the Eighth*, who was the firſt temporal Prince that ever made himſelf *Ex Regio jure Head of the Church in Spiritual matters*, a new ſtrange Doctrine, and therefore juſtly condemned by *Calvin* for monſtrous. But ſuppoſe he were ſuch a Head, yet you all confeſs that he may erre in matters of Faith. And ſo you acknowledge may your *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, and your whole Clergy in their *Convocation-Houſe*, even making Articles and Decrees: yea, though a *Council* of all your *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*,

viniſts, Proteſtants, &c. of *Germany, France, England,* &c. were all joyned together, and ſhould agree all (which they never will do) to compound and determine the differences among themſelves, yet by the ordinary Doctrine of moſt Proteſtants they might in ſuch a Council err, and it were poſſible in their Decrees to be deceived. But if they may err, how ſhould I know and be ſure when and wherein they did, or did not err? for though on the one ſide, *A poſſe ad eſſe non valet ſemper conſequentia,* yet *aliquando valet,* and on the other ſide, *fruſtra dicitur potentia, quæ nunquam ducitur in actum.* So that if neither in general nor in particular, in publick nor private, in Head nor Members, joyntly nor ſeverally, you have no *viſible, external, humane, infallible Judge, who cannot err,* and to whom I might have recourſe for deciſion of doubts in matters of Faith, I pray let Mr. *Hall* tell me, Where ſhould I have fixed my foot? for God is my Witneſs, my Soul was like *Noah*'s Dove, a long time hovering and deſirous to diſcover Land, but ſeeing nothing but moveable and troubleſome deceivable Water, I could find no quiet center for my Conſcience, nor any firm Foundation for my Faith in Proteſtant Religion. Wherefore hearing a ſound of *Harmony* and *Conſent*, That the Catholick Church *could not err*, and that only in the Catholick Church, as in *Noah*'s Ark, was *infallibility*, and *poſſibility* of ſalvation; I was ſo occaſioned, and I think had important reaſon, like *Noah*'s Dove, to ſeek out, and to enter into

into this *Ark* of *Noah*. Hereupon I was occaſioned to doubt, *Whether the Church of* England *were the true Church, or not?* For by conſent of all, the true Church cannot err; but the Church of *England*, Head and Members, King, Clergy, and People, as before is ſaid, yea a whole Council of Proteſtants by their own grant may err, *ergo*, no true Church. If no true Church, no ſalvation in it; therefore come out of it: but that I was loth to do Rather I laboured mightily to defend it, both againſt the *Puritans*, and againſt the *Catholicks*: But the beſt Arguments I could uſe againſt the *Puritans* from the *Authority of the Church*, and of the ancient *Doctors* interpreting Scriptures againſt them, when they could not anſwer them, they would reject them for Popiſh, and flye to their own arrogant ſpirit, by which forſooth they muſt control others. This I found on the one ſide moſt abſurd, and to breed an *Anarchy* of confuſion: and yet when I came to anſwer the *Catholick Arguments* on the other ſide againſt *Proteſtants*, urging the like *Authority and Uniformity of the Church*, I perceived the moſt *Proteſtants* did frame evaſions, in effect like thoſe of the Puritans, inclining to their private Spirit, and other uncertainties. IV.

Next therefore I applyed my ſelf to follow their Opinion, who would make *the Church of* England *and the Church of* Rome *ſtill to be all one in eſſental Points, and the differences to be accidential*; confeſſing the Church of *Rome* to be a *true Church*, though ſick,

ſick, or corrupted, and the Proteſtants to be derived from it and reformed: and to this end I laboured much to reconcile moſt of our particular controverſies: But in truth, I found ſuch contrarieties, not only between Catholicks and Proteſtants, but even among Proteſtants themſelves, that I could never ſettle my ſelf fully in this Opinion of ſome reconciliation, which I know many great Scholars in *England* did favour. For conſidering ſo many oppoſite great Points, for which they did excommunicate and put to death each other, and making *the Pope to be Antichriſt*, proper or improper, it could never ſink into my Brain how theſe two could be deſcendent or Members ſound nor unſound participant each of other. Rather I
V. concluded, that ſeeing many of the beſt learned Proteſtants did grant *The Church of* Rome *to be a true Church, though peradventure faulty in ſome things:* And contrarily, not only the *Catholicks*, but alſo the *Puritans*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, &c. did all *deny the Church of* England *to be a true Church*: therefore it would be more ſafe and ſecure to become a *Roman Catholick*, who have a true Church by conſent of both parties, than to remain a *Proteſtant*, who do alone plead their own cauſe, having all the other againſt them: For the teſtimony of our ſelves, and our contraries alſo, is much more ſufficient, and more certain than to juſtifie
VI. our ſelves alone. Yet I reſiſted and ſtood out ſtill: and betook my ſelf again to read over and examine the chiefeſt Controverſies

ſies, eſpecially thoſe about the *Church*, which is *cardo negotii* (and herein becauſe the Bearer ſtayes now a day or two longer, I will inlarge my ſelf more than I purpoſed) and ſo I would needs peruſe the *Original quotations and Texts of the Councils, Fathers, and Doctors*, in the Authors themſelves, which were alledged on both parts, to ſee if they were truly cited, and according to the meaning of the Authors: a labour of much labour, and of travel ſometime to find the Books, wherein I found much *fraud* committed by the Proteſtants; and that the Catholicks *had far greater and better armies of evident Witneſſes* on their ſides, much more than the Proteſtants; in ſo much that the *Centuriſts* are fain often to cenſure and reject the plain teſtimonies of thoſe Ancients, as if their new cenſure were ſufficient to diſauthorize the others ancient ſentences. And ſo I remember *Danæus in Commentariis ſuper D. Auguſtin. Enchirid. ad Laurentium.* Where S. *Auguſtin* plainly avoucheth *Purgatory*: He rejects S. *Auguſtines* Opinion, ſaying, *hic eſt nævus Auguſtini*: But I had rather follow S. *Auguſtine*'s Opinion, than his Cenſure; for who are they to control the Fathers? VII.

There are indeed ſome *few places* in Authors, which *prima facie* ſeem to favour Proteſtants, as many Hereticks alledge ſome Texts of Scriptures, whoſe ſound of Words ſeem to make for their Opinions: But being well examined and interpreted, according to the Analogy of faith, and according to

many other places of the ſame Authors, where they do more fully explain their Opinions; ſo they appear to be wreſted, and from the purpoſe.

In fine, I found my ſelf evidently *convinced*, both by many Authorities, and by many Arguments, which now I do not remember all, nor can here repeat thoſe which I do remember: But only ſome few Arguments I will relate unto you which prevailed moſt with me, beſides thoſe aforementioned.

VIII. Firſt, therefore I could never approve the Proteſtants evaſion by *Inviſibility of their Church*: For though ſometime it may be diminiſhed and obſcured, yet the *Catholick Church muſt ever be viſible, ſet on a Hill, and not as Light hid under a Buſhel*; for how ſhould it enlighten and teach her Children if inviſible, or how ſhould Strangers, and Pagans, and others, be converted unto her? or where ſhould any find the Sacraments if inviſible?

IX. Alſo the true Church in all places and all Ages, ever holds one *Uniformity* and Concord in all matters of *Faith*, though not in all matters of *Ceremony or Government*: But the Proteſtants Church hath not in all Ages nor in all places ſuch uniform concord, nay not in one Age, as is manifeſt to all the World, and as Father *Parſons* proved againſt *Fox*'s *Martyrs*, *Wickliffe*, *Huſſe*, and the reſt: *Ergo* the Proteſtants Church, not the true Church.

Again

Again, by that ſaying, *Hæreſes ad originem revocaſſe eſt refutaſſe*; and ſo conſidering *Luther*'s firſt rancor againſt the *Dominicans*, his diſobedience and contempt of his former Superiours, his vow-breaking, and violent courſes, even cauſing rebellion againſt the *Emperour*, whom he reviles, and other Princes moſt ſhamefully; ſurely ſuch arrogant diſobedience, Schiſm, and Rebellions, had no warrant nor vocation of God to plant his Church, but of the Devil to begin a Schiſm and a Sect. So likewiſe for *Calvin*, to ſay nothing of all that D. *Bolſecus* brings againſt him; I do urge only what Mr *Hooker*, Dr. *Bancroft*, and *Saravia* do prove againſt him, for his unquietneſs and ambition, revolving the Commonwealth, and ſo unjuſtly expelling and depriving the Biſhop of *Geneva*, and other temporal Lords of their due obedience, and ancient inheritance. Moreover, I refer you to the ſtirs, broils, ſedition, and murthers which *Knox* and the *Geneva*-Goſpellers cauſed in *Scotland* againſt their lawful Governours, againſt their *Queen*, and againſt *our King, even in his Mothers Belly*. Nor will I inſiſt upon the paſſions which firſt moved King *Henry* violently to divorce himſelf from his lawful Wife, to fall out with the Pope his Friend, to marry the Lady *Anne Bullen*, and ſoon after to behead her; to diſinherit Queen *Mary*, and inable Queen *Elizabeth*, and preſently to diſinherit Queen *Elizabeth*, and to reſtore Queen *Mary*; to hang up Catholicks for Traytors, and to burn Proteſtants for X.

Hereticks, to deſtroy *Monaſteries*, and to pill Churches: Were theſe fit beginnings for the Goſpel of Chriſt? I pray was this Man a good *Head of Gods Church?* for my part, I beſeech our Lord bleſs me from being a Member of ſuch a Head, or ſuch a Church. I come to *France* and *Holland*, where you know by the *Hugonots* and *Geuſes all Calviniſts*, what Civil Wars they have raiſed, how much Blood they have ſhed, what Rebellion, Rapine, and Deſolations they have occaſioned principally for their new Religion, founded in Blood like *Draco's* Laws: But I would gladly know whether you can approve ſuch bloody broils for Religion, or no? I know Proteſtants *de facto*, do juſtifie the Civil Wars of *France* and *Holland* for good againſt their Kings; but I could never underſtand of them *quo jure*: If the *Hollanders* be Rebels (as they are) why did we ſupport them? if they be no Rebels becauſe they fight for the pretended liberty of their ancient Priviledges, and for their new Religion; we ſee it is an eaſie matter to pretend Liberties, and alſo why may not others as well revolt for their old Religion? Or I beſeech you, why is that accounted *Treaſon againſt the State* in *Catholicks*, which is called *Reaſon of State* in *Proteſtants?* I reduce this Argument to few Words, *That Church which is founded and begun in Malice, Diſobedience, Paſſion, Blood and Rebellion, cannot be the true Church:* but it is evident to the World, That *the Proteſtant Churches in* Germany, France, Holland, Geneva,

neva, *&c. were ſo founded*, and in *Geneva* and *Holland* are ſtill continued in Rebellion: *ergo, They are not true Churches.*

XI. Furthermore, where is not *Succeſſion* both of true Paſtors and of true Doctrine, there is no true Church: But among Proteſtants is no ſucceſſion of true Paſtors, (for I omit here to treat of Doctrine) *ergo*, no true Church. I prove the *minor*: where is *no conſecration nor ordination of Biſhops and Prieſts*, according to the due Form and right intention required neceſſarily by the Church and ancient Councils, there is no ſucceſſion of true Paſtors: But among Proteſtants the ſaid due Form and right intention are not obſerved, *ergo*, no ſucceſſion of true Paſtors. The ſaid due Form and right intention are not obſerved among Proteſtants in *France*, *Holland*, nor *Germany*, where they have no Biſhops, and where Laymen do intermeddle in the making of their Miniſters. And for *England*, whereas the Councils require the *Ordines minores* of *Subdeacon and the reſt*, to go before Prieſthood; your Miniſters are made *per ſaltum* without ever being Subdeacons. And whereas the Councils require three Biſhops to aſſiſt at the conſecration of a Biſhop, it is certain that *at the Nags-Head in* Cheapſide, where conſecration of your firſt Biſhops was attempted, but not effected, (whereabout I remember the controverſie you had with one) there was but one Biſhop, and I am ſure there was ſuch a matter: And although I know and

have ſeen the Records themſelves, that afterward there was a conſecration of Dr. *Parker* at *Lambeth*, and three Biſhops named, *viz. Miles Coverdal* of *Exceter*, one *Hodgeſkin* Suffragan of *Bedford*, and another whoſe name I have forgotten, yet it is very doubtful that *Coverdal* being made Biſhop of *Exceter* in King *Edward*'s time (when all Councils and Church-Canons were little obſerved) he was never himſelf Canonically conſecrated; and ſo if he were no Canonical Biſhop, he could not make another Canonical: And the third unnamed, as I remember (but am not ſure) was only a *Biſhop elect*, and not conſecrated, and ſo was not ſufficient. But hereof I am ſure, that they did conſecrate *Parker* by vertue of a Breve *from the Queen, as Head of the Church*, Who indeed being no true Head, and a Woman, I cannot ſee how they could make *a true Conſecration grounded on* her Authority. Furthermore, making your Miniſters, you keep not the *right intention*; for neither do the Orderer nor the Ordered give nor receive the Orders *as a Sacrament*; nor with any intention of *Sacrificing*. Alſo they want the *Matter* and *Form* with which according to the Councils and Canons of the Church holy Orders ſhould be given; namely for the *Matter*, Prieſthood is given *by the delivery of the Patena* with *Bread*, and of the *Chalice* with *Wine*: Deaconſhip by the delivery of the *Book of the Goſpels*;

ſpels; and Subdeaconſhip by the delivery of the *Patena* alone, and of the *Chalice* empty. And in the ſubſtantial form of Prieſthood you do fail moſt of all, which Form conſiſts in theſe Words, *Accipe poteſtatem offerendi Sacrificium in Eccleſia pro Vivis & Mortuis*, which are neither ſaid nor done by you, and therefore well may you be called *Miniſters*, as alſo Laymen are, but you are no *Prieſts*. Wherefore I conclude, wanting *Subdeaconſhip*, wanting undoubted Canonical *Biſhops*, wanting *right intention*, wanting *Matter* and due *Form*, and deriving even that you ſeem to have from *a Woman* the *Head of your Church*, therefore you have *no true Paſtors*, and conſequently *no true Church*. And ſo to conclude, and not to weary my ſelf and you too much, being reſolved in my underſtanding, by theſe and many other Arguments, *That the Church of* England *was not the true Church*, but that *the Church of* Rome *was and is the only true Church*, becauſe it alone is *Ancient*, *Catholick*, and *Apoſtolick*, having *Succeſſion*, *Unity*, and *Viſibility*, in *all Ages*, and *Places*; yet what *Agonies* I paſſed with my Will, here I will over-paſs. Only I cannot pretermit to tell you, That at laſt having alſo maſtered and ſubdued my will to relent unto my underſtanding, by means of Prayer, and by God Almighty's Grace principally, I came to break through many tentations and impediments, and from a XII.

troubled unquiet Heart, to a fixed and peaceable tranquillity of Mind, for which I do moſt humbly thank our ſweet Lord and Saviour *Jeſus*, before whom with all reverence I do avouch *and ſwear* unto you, as I ſhall anſwer it in the dreadful Day of Judgment, when all Hearts ſhall be diſcovered, That *I forſook Proteſtant Religion for very fear of Damnation*; and became a Catholick with *good hope of Salvation*; and that in this hope I do continue and increaſe daily: And that I would not for all the World become a *Proteſtant* again. And for this which here I have written unto you in great haſt, I know there be many *Replyes* and *Rejoynders* wherewith I could never be ſatisfied; nor do I deſire any further Diſputation about them, but rather to ſpend the reſt of my life in *Devotion*; yet in part to give you, my dear good Friend, ſome *account* of my ſelf, having now ſo good an occaſion, and fit a Meſſenger, and by you if you pleaſe to render a reaſon of my Faith to Mr. *Hall*, who in his ſaid *printed Epiſtle*, in one place deſires to know the *Motives* thereof, I have thus plainly made relation of ſome Points among many. Whereunto if Mr. *Hall* will make any *Reply*, I do deſire it may be *directly*, and *fully* to the Points, and in *friendly Terms*, upon which condition I do pardon what is paſt: and of you I know I need not require any ſuch circumſtances. And ſo moſt ſeriouſly intreating and praying

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ing to our gracious Lord to direct and keep us all and ever in his holy Truth, I commend you unto his heavenly Grace, and my ſelf unto your friendly love.

Your very affectionate,

and true loving Friend,

Sevil in *Spain*, *April* 1. 1615.

James Waddeſworth.

+ *To*

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To the Worſhipful his reſpected Friend, *Mr.* William Bedell, *at his Houſe in S.* Edmundsbury, *or at* Horinger, *be there delivered in* Suffolk.

Kind Mr. Bedel,

MIne old acquaintance and Friend, having heard of your health and worldly well-fare, by this Bearer Mr. *Auſten* your Neighbour, and by him having opportunity to ſalute you with theſe few Lines, I could not omit; though ſome few years ſince I wrote you by one who ſince told me certainly he delivered my Letters, and that you promiſed anſwer, and ſo you are in my debt, which I do not claim nor urge ſo much, as I do that in truth and before our Lord I ſpeak it, you do owe me love in all mutual amity, for the hearty affectionate love which I have and ever did bear unto you with all ſincerity. For though I love not your Religion (wherein I could never find ſolid Truth, nor firm hope of Salvation, as dow I do being a *Catholick*, and our Lord is my Witneſs, who ſhall be my Judge) yet indeed I do love your perſon, and your ingenuous, honeſt, good, moral condition, which

which ever I obſerved in you: nor do I deſire to have altercations with Mr. *Joſeph Hall* (eſpecially if he ſhould proceed as Satyrically as he hath begun with me) nor with any other Man, and much leſs would I have any debate with your ſelf, whom I do eſteem and affect as before I have written: nor would I ſpend the reſt of my life (which I take to be ſhort, for my Lungs are decaying) in any Queſtions, but rather in Devotion, wherein I do much more deſire to be hot and fervorous, than in Diſputations, beſeeching our Lord to forgive my coldneſs, yea my neglect therein, and to pardon and free me from all ſin, and to guide and keep you in all happineſs, even as I wiſh for my own Soul, through the Redemption of our *ſweet Saviour*, and *by the interceſſion of his holy Mother*, and all *Saints*, *Amen*.

Your aſſured

Written in haſt from Madrid, April 14. 1619.

true Friend,

James Waddeſworth.

Received, *June* 4. 1619.

To

To the Worſhipful my very good Friend, Mr. James Waddeſworth *at* Madrid, *deliver this.*

Salutem in Chriſto Jeſu.

THe late receipt of your Letters (good Maſter Waddeſworth) did diverſly affect me with joy and ſhame; and I know not with whether moſt. I was glad to hear of you, and your proſperous ſtate, much more to receive a kind Letter from you: Aſhamed therein to be called upon for debt; who have ever endeavoured to live by that Rule of the Apoſtle, Owe nothing to any Man. Yet not ſo much for that which you moſt urge the debt of love, ſith by that Text it appears, that it can never be ſo diſcharged, as there ſhould not be more behind to pay. And your ſelf who challenge this of me, do owe me as much or well more. For let me tell you, I have the advantage of you herein by my Profeſſion, for where your love is to me as to a Man, or to an honeſt Man, nor can by your preſent perſwaſion go any further, I can and

and do love you as my dear Brother, and fellow Member in the myſtical body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And from this ground (to his knowledge I do appeal) I do heartily pray for you, and bear with you, and as the Apoſtle enjoyns, Rom. 15. 7. *receive you with a true brotherly affection. I am not therefore aſhamed of this debt, but do rejoyce as much in the owing of it, as in the payment. But my ſhame grows from the being behind with you in* the office of writing. *Wherein yet hear my honeſt and true excuſe. Neither will I go about to ſet off one debt with another. For you may remember, how at our parting you promiſed to write to me* touching the ſtate of Religion *there, which if we ſhall make out a perfect reckoning, I account to be a good debt ſtill. But this I ſay, when your Letters of the firſt of* April, 1615. *came to my Hands, I purpoſed to return anſwer by the ſame Bearer, who as he told me, was to return about the* Midſummer *following. But I had a ſudden and extraordinary journey which came between, and kept me from home till after the Commencement, ſo as that opportunity was loſt. Beſides, upon the reading of your Letters, I perceived your intention was to have them imparted to Dr.* Hall, *expecting in a ſort ſome reply from him. To him therefore did I ſend them. After ſome Months I received this anſwer, which though I had once purpoſed to conceal, as not willing to be the mean of any exaſperation between you, yet now hoping of your wiſdom and patience, I ſend you incloſed, that it may be ſome evidence of my true excuſe. Upon the receipt of it, I*

began

began to frame an anſwer to the Points of your Letter, according to your deſire, full *and in* friendly terms. *I had well-nigh finiſhed it, when I was preſented to this Benefice, and thereby entered into a world of diſtractions. Theſe, together with the labour of writing it over, and uncertainty of ſafe conveying my Letters to you, did make me procraſtinate my payment, till now to my ſhame you ſhould need to demand it. And that I may by the more ſhaming my ſelf obtain a more eaſie penance from you; I confeſs to you, I was ſometime half in mind, (having eſpecially differred it ſo long) to ſuppreſs it altogether. Firſt out of mine own natural diſpoſition, who have ever abhorred contention: and whereas in matters of Religion there ought to be the faireſt Wars, I could never yet meet with any of that ſide of ſo patient a mind, but by oppoſition he would be unſetled. For your ſelf, though I knew your former moderate temper, and (as I remember I wrote to Dr.* Hall) *believed you in that which you profeſt, that out of Conſcience you were ſuch as you profeſs; yet methought I perceived by your quick manner to him, and ſome paſſages in the concluſion of your Letter, you were rather deſirous to enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of your own opinion, than come to any further diſputation whoſe is the right. And in truth the time of that tryal had been proper, before your departure: nor you had too far ingaged your ſelf, and were to juſtifie by your conſtancy, the wiſdom of your change. Beſides, ſince the ſumm of the errour of that ſide, as I have ever conceived it, is believing rather*

too much, than failing in any point neceſſary to ſalvation, that notable place of the Apoſtle, Rom. 14. 1. *came to my mind, eſpecially after that I had once occaſion to preach of it, where* he forbids controverſies of diſputations with thoſe that are infirm in Faith. Who art thou (*ſaith he*) that judgeſt another Man's Servant? he ſtandeth or falleth to his own Maſter. *Why ſhould I grieve you, and perhaps* make my Friend mine Enemy (as Saint *Paul* the *Galatians*) *by ſaying the truth. The World is full enough of contentious Writings, which as by your Letter appears you had ſeen ere ye reſolved. If thoſe had not ſatisfied you, what could I hope to add to them? Theſe things* moved *me*; *but as* you ſay, *they did not yet* ſatisfie *me. For all Men are intereſted in the defence of truth, how much more he that is called to be a Preacher of it? All Chriſtians are admoniſhed by S.* Jude, To fight for the Faith once given to the Saints; *how much more thoſe that are leaders in this warfare: How could I ſay I loved our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, if his honour being queſtioned I ſhould be ſilent? How could I approve to mine own Soul, that I loved you, if I ſuffered you to enjoy your own error, ſuppoſe not damnable? Beſides that, you and perhaps others alſo might be confirmed in it, perhaps interpreting my ſilence for a confeſſion that your* Motives *were unanſwerable. But therein I was not only reſolved my ſelf to the contrary, but thought it ſo eaſie to reſolve any indifferent mind, as methought it was*

more

more ſhame not to have done it at the firſt, than praiſe to do it at the laſt. As for the ſucceſs of my endeavour, I was to leave it to God. Many and ſecret are the wayes of his Providence, which ſerveth it ſelf ſometimes even of errours, to the ſafer conduct of us to our final happineſs. Some I had known, and heard of more, who being at firſt carried away with the ſhews of Unity, Order, Succeſſion, Infallibility, *when they found them empty of* Truth, *and the Cloaks of* Pride, Ambition, Covetouſneſs, *joyned with an* Obſtinacy *to defend all* Corruptions *how palpable ſoever, by finding the difference of theſe Hulls from their Fathers Table, had with the Prodigal-Son returned home again. To conclude, I accounted my ſelf ſtill in* debt, *and was I confeſs to you unwilling to dye in it; and ſometimes vowed to God, in the midſt of my troubles, if I might once ſee an end of them, to endeavour to diſcharge it. And now having by his mercy not only attained that, but a new occaſion preſented me preſently thereupon, by your calling for ſatisfaction to pay it, and means offered me to ſend it ſafely: I take this motion to proceed from God, and do humbly deſire his Majeſty to turn it to good. It remains therefore, good Mr.* Waddeſworth, *that I do intreat your pardon of that ſlackneſs that is paſt, and gentleneſs to take it as I ſhall be able to pay it My employments both ordinary and extraordinary are many: The bulk of it is too great to convey in one Letter, conſiſting of ſundry Sheets of Paper; and at this preſent there*

there lies an extraordinary task upon me, ſo as I cannot preſently write it out. I do therefore no more now but acknowledge the debt, *and promiſe ſpeedy payment. Unleſs I ſhall add this alſo, that I do undertake to* pay intereſt *for the forbearance; and according as I ſhall underſtand by Mr.* Auſten *ſhall be fitteſt and ſafeſt, to ſend it in parts, or all at once. To the concluſion of your laſt Letter, wherein you profeſs your deſire* to ſpend the reſt of your life rather in the heat of Devotion, than of Diſputation, deſiring pardon of coldneſs that way, and of all other your ſins, and that it would pleaſe God to guide and keep me in all happineſs as your ſelf, through the redemption of our ſweet Saviour, and by the interceſſion of his holy mother and all Saints. *I do moſt thankfully and willingly ſubſcribe* Amen: *Returning unto you from my heart your own beſt wiſhes. Neither is it my purpoſe to call into queſtion the ſolidity of truth, or firmneſs of the hope of Salvation, which you find in your preſent way. This only I ſay.* *Et pro nobis Chriſtus mortuus eſt, & pro noſtra Redemptione Sanguinem ſuum fudit. Peccatores quidem, ſed de ipſius grege ſumus; & inter ejus oviculas numeramur: *This is my* Tenet. *And if the Doctrine of the Holy Bible do contain ſolid truth, and believing* in the name of the Son of God *do give firm hope of ſalvation, according to Gods own Record,* 1 John 5. 10,

* Even for us alſo hath Chriſt dyed, and for our Redemption hath he ſhed his Blood. Sinners indeed we are, but of his Flock, and among his poor Sheep are we numbered.

5. 10, 11, 12. *we are perſwaded we have both. I will add this more*; We know that we are tranſlated from Death to Life, becauſe we love our Brethren. *With this* Oyle in our Lamps, *which we deſire may be alwayes in ſtore in our* Veſſels *alſo our hearts, we attend the coming of the* Bridegroom; *and ſay cheerfully,* * Etiam veni Domine Jeſu. *To whoſe gracious protection I do moſt heartily commit you, and do reſt*

* even ſo come, Lord Jeſus.

Your aſſured Friend,

and loving Brother,

Horningeſherth, Auguſt 5. 1619.

W. Bedell.

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To the Worſhipful Mr. *William Bedell* at *Horningeſherth* near S. *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, theſe.

Salutem in Crucifixo.

Worthy Sir,

I Was exceeding glad to perceive by your kind, modeſt, and diſcreet Letters of the fifth of *Auguſt* laſt, that you are ſtill permanent in your own good nature, and conſtant in your love to me: not like Mr. *Joſeph Hall*, neither bitterly reviling, nor flouriſhing impertinently. Unto whom I pray you return his ſcoffing railing Letter, with theſe few marginal Notes. I pray God forgive him, and make him a more humbler and meeker Man. And I for my part do freely pardon all his foul terms againſt me. And though in gratitude and juſtice I am bound, and ſo do love and reſpect you more than him, for your greater courteſie to me, and for your better value in

your ſelf; yet even him I can and do and am bound to love not only as an Enemy, or a Creature of God, or as I do you for an honeſt, moral, good, diſcreet Man, but even further and beyond that which you ſeem to underſtand that we cannot by our Doctrine proceed in love: *viz.* As Men having Souls, for whom our Saviour hath dyed; and ſo as poſſible members though indeed not actual branches of his myſtical Body: Yea for ſuch as may come to be ingrafted and bear Fruit in him, when we may be withered, cut off, or fallen away. As for your ſerious *Apology* and excuſe for not anſwering my firſt Letters all this while, I do eaſily admit it, and aſſure my ſelf that all the circumſtances, impediments, and occaſions were ſuch, as you affirm: nor did I expect, nor urge, in my firſt nor ſecond Letters, any anſwer about *Controverſies* in Religion (for I ever ſaid we could ſay nothing of ſubſtance which before had not been ſaid) but only gave you by Mr. *Hall*'s occaſion ſome few reaſons of my Faith, wherein ſtill I proteſt I had rather be devout than be troubled to diſpute, not for fear or doubt, but becauſe I am ſo fully reſolved in my ſelf, and do think it a very ſuperfluous labour, *toties & melius ab aliis actum agere.* So that I deſired rather anſwer of courteſie than of Controverſie, which now by Mr. *Aſtons* means I received, and do much eſteem it, and heartily thank you for it. Nevertheleſs, when your Reply unto my plain and few reaſons come, I will for your ſake both read them over, and according

according to my little health, leſs leiſure, and my poor ability (which is leaſt of all) *return you ſome ſuch ſhort Rejoynder* as it ſhall pleaſe almighty God to enable me, being glad to perceive by your laſt that you do ſubſcribe to our *interceſſion by our bleſſed Lady, and other holy Saints*; which alſo I hope and wiſh you would fully extend to our *invocation of Saints as Interceſſors*, not as *Redeemers*, for that were *Blaſphemy indeed* and *Idolatry*; from which our ſweet Saviour deliver us, and ever keep you, my good dear Friend, as I deſire.

Madrid, *in haſte*, Octob. 26. 1619. *James Waddeſworth.*

To the Worſhipful my very good Friend, Mr. James Waddeſworth, *at* Madrid, *deliver this.*

Salutem in Chriſto Jeſu.

YOur *Letters of the* 26 *of* October, *(beloved Maſter* Waddeſworth*) were long upon the way, and came not to my hands till the* 23 *of* May. *In them I received your courteous acceptation of my excuſe for my former ſilence, and cenſure of Dr.* Hall's *Letter with the profeſſion of your love to me and him, further than I accounted you could by your Doctrine proceed,* viz. as redeemed by Chriſt, *and* poſſible Members of his myſtical Body. *Truly Sir, I will not change Words with you hereabouts, but I account ſtill to be* an honeſt Man, *reſtraineth from that,* to be redeemed *by our Saviour, ſince that is as large as* humane Nature, *this is given to fewer, of whom a Man may ſay as our Lord doth of one in the Goſpel, that* they are not far from the Kingdom of God. *Howſoever, I have ſtill my intention that* we out of our Profeſſion may love you better than you can us: *ſince it is more to be an* actual, *than a* poſſible *member of Chriſt; and*

the

the Communion of Saints *is a ſtraiter Bond, than* Redemption *by Chriſt, and poſſibility of being ingrafted and bearing Fruit in his myſtical Body. And I would to Chriſt that of all other Controverſies this were the vehementeſt between us,* which ſhould love each other moſt. *Wherein although I would ſtrive and do my beſt to have the better, yet ſee how equally I would contend. For both I would acknowledge freely, my ſelf far ſhort of that which I may by my Profeſſion do in this kind, and perſwade my ſelf better of your ſecret affection to us, than you may by your Profeſſion expreſs. I will not eaſily believe that you can find in your Heart to count that Man a Dogg, and out of the Church, and in ſtate of damnation, that* ſtedfaſtly believeth in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *and by him in the* Bleſſed Trinity; *that confeſſeth* all the Doctrine of Holy Scriptures, *the ſumm whereof is in the* Creed; *that laſtly, with a* charitable *affection embraceth all that hold this Faith, throughout the World, yea even thoſe that hate and perſecute him to the death. Wherein I forbear for the preſent to enlarge, becauſe I ſpeak more of it in my anſwer to your firſt Letters; which Mr.* Aſton *gives me hope that himſelf ere long will conſign into your hands. Now by his direction, I ſend you only advice of the receipt of your laſt, with hearty thanks for them, deſirous not to run further in arrearages with you in this office of writing. This one thing I add, that where you write* You are glad I do ſubſcribe to your interceſſion by the Saints, *wiſhing me* fully to extend it to invocation of Saints as Interceſſors, *though not as* Redeemers; *I ſhould be very glad if*

I could as well content you in all other Points as that one: coming thus prepared in all controverſies with you, and all Men, to yield whatſoever I may, ſaving the truth. *But as I conceive it, there is great odds between theſe two.* To deſire God to grant us this or that good thing by the interceſſion of the Saints; *and,* To uſe invocation of themſelves. *The one ſuppoſeth only that* the Saints in glory generally knowing the warfare of thoſe on Earth, are careful for them, *and omit not this act of* never-failing charity to pray for them. *Theſe prayers it hopes, and deſires of God may be helpful to us, by the only merit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; in the ſame ſort as thoſe of the Saints whereſoever* on Earth; *as* 2 Cor. 1. 10. 11. Epheſ. 6. 1. Philem. v. 22. *The other, that* the Saints departed know our wants, and ſtates in particular, and hear our Prayers, *and by conſequent* know our Hearts: *which is flatly contrary to the Scriptures,* 2 Chron. 6. 30. Eſay 63. 16. *To omit now that you do not only* deſire them to pray for you, *but* ask at their hands Grace and Glory, truſt in them, vow to them, ſwear by them, offer and receive the Sacrifice of the New Teſtament to their honour and glory, and deſire it may be accepted by their Patronage. *Wherefore as I am glad, to perceive that you do reverſe thoſe blaſphemies indeed,* Salva me, Salvatrix; Redime me, Redemptrix; *and will not ſubſcribe to thoſe Words of* Bellarmine, non erit abſurdum ſi ſancti viri Redemptores noſtri aliquo modo, id eſt ſecundum aliquid, non ſimpliciter, & largo modo, non in rigore verborum eſſe dicantur: *And again,* cur ineptè

eptè dicantur Sancti viri aliquo modo paſſionibus ſuis delicta noſtra poſſe redimere? *ſo I hope and wiſh you would do the like for* calling upon them, *and preſenting* their Merits unto God; *and as ye may more ſafely and ſweetly ſpeak unto* our Jeſus, *who is* our Advocate with the Father, entered into the Holy of Holies, to appear before God for us. *To his gracious protection I commit you, and do reſt*

Your aſſured Friend,

and loving Brother,

Horningſheath, June 15. 1620.

W. Bedell.

✠

To the Worſhipful his much reſpected Friend, Mr. William Bedell, *at* Horningſhearth *by* S. Edmundsbury *in* Suffolk, *theſe.*

My very good Friend,

MR. *Bedell*, my laſt unto you was by a Gentleman who went from hence about ſix Months ſince; but I have underſtood he fell ſick at *Paris*, by the way, and ſo was firſt hindred there in his Journey, and afterwards again at *Bruſſels* fell to a relapſe, which detained him ſo long, that although now very lately I hear he is recovered and gone forward into *England*, yet in ſo long delays and ſo often ſickneſſes, I know not whether he have loſt or forgotten my former Letters: Wherefore out of this conſideration, and by the opportunity of this Bringer, and by the true hearty affection which I bear you, being deſirous to ſignifie unto you the continuance of my ſincere love, I could not pretermit this ſo good an occaſion, though hereby I have nothing elſe to ſay nor intreat, but *if we have Wars*, yet our diſſention may be rather in the *matter* and *caſes*, than

than betwixt our *perſons*, as diſcreet *Lawyers* uſe to plead vehemently each for his *Clients Juſtice*, and yet remain betwixt themſelves without breach of amity, and abſtaining from opprobrious injury; wherein I have great confidence that you will proceed both more moderately in all the circumſtance, and to better purpoſe in the ſubſtance than Mr. *Joſeph Hall*, unto whoſe Letter directed to you, and by you ſent unto me, I wrote certain *Marginal Notes* only, and ſo returned the ſame by the above named Gentleman, whereof alſo (if it return to your Hands) I would intreat you to ſend me a Copy both of his *Text and my Gloſs*, for then being in haſte I remained with neither. Our Lord keep you, and guide us all to his truth, and to Heaven.

Madrid June 8. 1620. *James Waddeſworth.*

The

The Letter of Mr. Dr. Hall, *mentioned in the former with Mr.* Waddesworth's *Marginal Notes.*

Good Maſter Bedell,

VVHat a ſorry crabb hath Mr. *Waddeſworth* at laſt ſent us from *Seavil?* I pity the † *impotent malice* of the Man; ſure that hot Region, and † *ſulphurous Religion* are guilty of this his choler. For ought I ſee he is not only turned Papiſt but *Spaniard* too. *Ibi vivitur ambitioſa paupertate*: The great Man would not foil his Fingers (for that is his Word) with ſuch an Adverſary as my ſelf; he ſhould have found this conflict his foiling indeed; but he ſcorns the match; and what wonder, if he that hath all this while * *ſat on Father* Creſwel's *Stairs*, ſcorn the unworthineſs of him whom an *Engliſh* Univerſity ſcorned not to ſet in the Chair of Divinity? But whence is this my contempt? I ſee but two Vices to

† I pray ſee within how ſhort a compaſs he proves himſelf a Poetical Railer by his *Epithets*, not only againſt me, but reviling a whole Nation, and the Religion of the beſt part of all Chriſtendom.

* This mock if it were true, yet would I rejoyce in it, not only to ſit on his Stairs, but to make clean his ſhooes.

to clear my ſelf of; *Poetry* and † *Railing*; of the latter you ſhall acquit me if you will but read that my poor Epiſtle which he ſleights thus: Let your Eyes judge whether ever any thing could be written more mildly, more modeſtly, more lovingly. Of the former I muſt acquit my ſelf; *Cujus unum eſt ſed magnum vitium Poeſis*: What were I the worſe if I were ſtill a lover of thoſe ſtudies? If he could have had leiſure to tend upon any thing *beſides that Fathers Pacquets*, he might have ſeen moſt of the renowned and holy Fathers of the Church eminent in that Profeſſion for which I am ſcorned; amongſt many others *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Nazianzen*, *Prudentius*, *Fulgentius*, *Apollinarius*, *Nonnus*, *Hilarius*, *Proſper*, and now in the upſhot * devout *Bernard*, and why ſhould their honour be my diſgrace? But the truth is, theſe were the recreations of my Minority; *nunc oblita mihi*. And if Poetry were of the deadly ſins of their Caſuiſts, I could ſmart for it in my ἀκμῇ: is this a fit ſcandal to rake up from ſo far? What my proficiency hath been in ſerious ſtudies, if the Univerſity and Church hath pleaſed to teſtifie: What need I ſtand at the mercy of † *a fugitive*. But if any *of* * *his Maſters* ſhould undertake

† I termed him a poetical Railer, not accuſing nor honouring him for a Poet; but taxing him for railing poetically, uſing the word as ſometimes it is in the worſt ſenſe, when it is abuſed: neither condemning Poetry, nor approving him for a Poet, but a poetical Railer: As he doth himſelf by that Epiſtle, and by this bitter Letter.

* I willingly pardon all his poetical railing and falſe Epithetes, for that one true word acknowledging S. *Bernard* to be devout.

† Pardon for S. *Bernards* ſake.

* A brave Man at arms, &c.

dertake me in the cauſe of God, he ſhould find I had ſtudied Proſe. As for theſe vain flouriſhes of mine, if he had not taken a veny in them, and found it ſmart, he had not ſtrook again ſo ‖ *churliſhly*? Was it my Letter that is accuſed of Poetry? there is neither Number nor Rhyme, † *nor fiction* in it: Would the great Schoolman have had me to have packt up a Letter of Syllogiſms? which of the Fathers (whoſe high ſteps I have deſired to tread in) have given that example? what were to be expected of a *Monitory Epiſtle* which intended only the occaſion if he had pleaſed of a future Diſcourſe? We Iſlanders * *liſt not learn* to write Letters from beyond the Pyrenees. Howſoever, I am not ſorry that his ſcorn hath caſt him upon an Adverſary more able to convince him; I am allowed only a looker on; therefore I will neither ward nor ſtrike; his hands are too full of you: my only wiſh is, That you could beat him ſound again; whereof I fear there is little hope. There was never Adverſary that gave more advantage: He might have ſerved in theſe Coleworts nearer home. I profeſs I do heartily † *pity him*; and ſo if it pleaſe you let him know from me. What *Apoſtaſie* (which is the only hard word I can be charged with)

‖ Pardon for S. *Bernards* ſake.

† I would there were not.

* *Satis pro imperio.*

† This appears by your railing on him, as he that juſtified himſelf from ſwearing, by loud ſwearing, By God he did not ſwear.

I † impute to the *Roman Church*, *I* have profeſſed to the World in the firſt Chapter of my *Roma irreconciliabilis*: if *I* offend not in *too much charity*, there is no fear: ſay what you will for me, *I* have done, and will only pray for him that anſwers me with contempt: farewell, and commend me to Mr. *Sotheby*, and your other loving and Reverend Society; and know me ever,

† This were to prove one abſurdity by a greater, and to undertake that ſome one Text of Scripture is falſe or forged, becauſe all the whole Bible is ſo: Or having called one a Jew or Baſtard, *&c.* to make him amends by telling him all his kindred were ſuch. But that Book and Chapter is indeed pitifully profeſſed: And by it and by inſinuating here an offence of too much charity, may be eaſily perceived the ſubſtance of your proficiency in Divinity.

Your truly loving Friend

and fellow Labourer,

Waltam. Jan. 10. 1615.

Joſ. Hall.

Good Mr. *Bedell*, this Letter hath lain thus long by me for want of carriage. *I* now hear you are ſetled at *Horningſherth*, whereof *I* wiſh you much joy. *I* am appointed to attend the Ambaſſadour into *France*, whither I pray you follow me with your Prayers.

May 15.

To

To my Reverend and worthy Friend, Mr. Dr. *Hall*, at *Waltam*, deliver this.

Salutem in Chriſto.

Good Mr. Dr.

THis *Letter of yours, ſince my receipt of it, hath been a Traveller, further than you or I; which being ſome Months ſince returned into* England, *I return to you, that it may relate what entertainment it hath found in Foreign parts. It is now a Year and more that I received a Letter from Mr.* Waddeſworth, *challenging an old debt of me, an anſwer to his Letters, which occaſioned this of yours. I wrote back, and among other things encloſed this your Letter, which he hath cenſured as you ſee. His anſwer by reaſon of the ſickneſs of the Gentleman that brought it, firſt at* Paris, *and after at* Bruſſels, *came*

not

not to me till the latter end of May, *and now lately another I received from him, wherein he desires a Copy both of your* Text *and his* Gloss, *as he calls it, as having reserved none for hast. I have not yet sent him my Answer to his* Motives *which hath long lain by me for lack of leisure to copy it out, and means safely to convey it, being well towards a quire of Paper. My ancient fault, tediousness. But the Gentleman that brought me his former Letter, hath undertaken ere long to consign it into his Hands. Therein I endeavour to use him with the best respect I can devise, only oppugning the Papacy and Court of* Rome. *Now, Sir, that which I would entreat of you, is this: You know the Precept of the Apostle touching them that are fallen, lend me your Hand to set him in joynt again. And be pleased not only not to reflect upon the weakness of his Gloss, but not so much as upon the strength of his Stomach: Though that be also weakness, as S.* Augustine *well calls it,* * infirmitas animositatis. *Write a Letter to him in the Character* βλαφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν. *Which shall either go with mine, or be sent shortly after. Who can tell what God may work? Surely, at least we shall heap Coals of Fire upon his Head. Although if all be true that I hear, it is not to be despaired but he may be delivered out of the snare of errour, the rather, because he hath not that reward or contentment which he expected. He lives*

* The weakness of a stout Heart. 1 Cor. 4. 13.

now at Madrid *with the* Perſian *Ambaſſa-*
dour Sir Robert Sherley, *and hath good main-*
tenance from him, being as his Steward, *a*
Agent. The kind uſage of his ancient Friend
may perhaps bring him in love with his Coun-
try again, &c. *This for that buſineſs. Now*
&c.

October 2.
1620.

To the Worſhipful my very good Friend, Mr. James Waddeſworth *at* Madrid, *deliver this.*

Salutem in Chriſto Jeſu.

Sir,

I *Received by Mr.* Fiſton *your Letters of the eighth of* June, *and as I hope ere this time you underſtand, the former which I mention in them: To which I wrote in anſwer, and delivered the ſame to Mr.* Aſton *the fifteenth of the ſame Month. Doctor* Hall's Letter *with your* Marginal Notes *which in your laſt you require, I ſend you herein enclоſed. Though if I may perſwade or intreat you both, neither ſhould the* Text *nor* Gloſs *make you multiply any more words thereabout. Upon the receipt of your Letter I ſpake with Mr.* Aſton, *who told me, That he held his reſolution for* Spain, *whereupon I reſolved alſo to ſend by him mine*

anſwer to your firſt: as thinking it better to do it more ſafely, though a little later, than ſooner, with leſs ſafety. And here, Sir, at length you have it. Wherein as to my moderation *for the manner, I hope you ſhall perceive that ſetting aſide our difference in Opinion, I am the ſame to you that I was when we were either* Scholars *together in* Emmanuel Colledge, *or* Miniſters *in* Suffolk. *For the* ſubſtance, *I do endeavour ſtill to write to the purpoſe, omitting nothing material in your Letters. If ſometimes I ſeem overlong, and perhaps to digreſs ſomewhat from the principal Point more than was neceſſary, I hope you will pardon it, ſith you required* a full Anſwer, *and the* delay *it ſelf had need to bring you ſome* intereſt *for the forbearance. And becauſe you mention the vehemency of* diſcreet Lawyers (*although methinks we are rather the* Clients *themſelves, that contend, ſince our Faith is our own and our beſt* Freehold) *let me entreat of you this ingenuity* (*which I proteſt in the ſight of God I bring my ſelf.*) *Let us not make head againſt evident Reaſon, for our own credit, or faſhion, and factions ſake, as* Lawyers *ſometimes are wont.* Neither let us think we loſe the Victory, when Truth overcomes. *We ſhall have part of it rather, and the better part, ſince errour, the common enemy to us both, is to us more dangerous. For Truth is ſecure and impregnable; we, if our Errour be not conquered, muſt remain* Servants to corruption. *It* is the firſt Praiſe, *ſaith S.* Auguſtine, *to*

hold

hold the true Opinion, the next to forſake the falſe. *And ſurely that is no hard maſtery to do, when both are ſet before us, if we will not be either retchleſs or obſtinate. From both which our Lord of his mercy evermore help us, and bring us to his everlaſting Kingdom.* Amen.

Your very loving Brother,

Horningſheath, Octob. 22. 1620.

W. Bedell.

THE COPIES OF Certain Letters, &c.

Salutem in Chriſto Jeſu.

CHAP. I.

Of the Preamble. The Titles Catholick, Papiſt, Traytor, Idolater.

SIR,

I Do firſt return you hearty thanks, for the truth and conſtancy of your love, and thoſe beſt effects of it, your *wiſhing me as well as to your ſelf*, and *rejoycing in my ſafe return out of* Italy. For indeed further I was not: though reported to have been both at *Conſtanti-*

nople and *Jeruſalem*, by reaſon of the nearneſs of my name to one Mr. *William Bidulph*, the Miniſter of our Merchants at *Aleppo*, who viſited both thoſe places.

I thank you alſo, that your ancient love towards me, hath (to uſe that Word of the Apoſtle) now flouriſhed again, in that after ſo many Years you have found opportunity to accompliſh your promiſe of writing to me: though not as ye undertook of the ſtate of Religion there yet, which I confeſs I no leſs deſired, the Motives of the forſaking that you had profeſſed here. Whereof ſince it hath pleaſed you, as ye write, *now to give me an account, and by me to Mr. Dr.* Hall, with ſome expectation alſo as it appears of reply from one of us, I will uſe the liberty which you give me, and as directly as I can for the matter, and in Chriſtian terms for the manner, ſhew you mine opinion of them, wherein I ſhall endeavour to obſerve that Precept of the Apoſtle; ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ, whether it be to be interpreted, *loving ſincerely*, or *ſeeking truth lovingly*. Neither ſoothing untruth for the dearneſs of your perſon, nor breaking charity for diverſity of Opinion. With this entrance, my loving Friend, and if you refuſe not that old Catholick name, my dear Brother, I come to your Letter. Wherein, though I might well let paſs that part which concerns your quarrel with Mr. Dr. *Hall*, with *ætatem habet*; yet thus much out of the common preſumption of charity, which thinks not evil, give me leave to ſay

for

for him, I am verily perſwaded he never meant to charge you with Apoſtaſie in ſo horrible a ſenſe as you count, *viz. A total falling from Chriſtian Religion, like that of* Julian, *an obſtinate pertinacy in denying the Principles of the Faith neceſſary to ſalvation, or a renouncing your Baptiſm.* The term *Apoſtaſie*, as you know, doth not always ſound ſo hainouſly. A Monk forſaking his Order, or a Clerk his Habit, is in the Decretals ſtiled an *Apoſtata*. *Granatenſis* ſaith not untruly, That every deadly ſin is a kind of Apoſtaſie. The Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſpeaking of Antichriſts time, ſaith, There muſt come an *Apoſtaſie* before Chriſts ſecond coming: and how this ſhall be he ſhews elſewhere. *Men ſhall give heed to ſpirits of Error, and Doctrines of Devils, and ſuch as ſpeak falſhood in hypocriſie.* Whereby it ſeems that Antichriſt himſelf ſhall not profeſſedly renounce Chriſt and his Baptiſm. His Kingdom is a myſtery of iniquity; a revolt therefore, not from the outward profeſſion, but inward ſincerity and power of the Goſpel. This kind of Apoſtaſie might be that which Mr. *Hall* was ſorry to find in you, whom he thought fallen from the Truth, though not in the Principles of Chriſtian Doctrine, yet in ſundry Concluſions which the reformed Churches truly out of them maintain. He remembred our common education in the ſame Colledge, our common Oath againſt Popery, our common Calling to the ſame ſacred Function of the Miniſtery; he could not imagine upon what reaſons you

you ſhould reverſe theſe beginnings. And certainly, how weighty and ſufficient ſoever they be, we are not taught by our Catholick Religion to revenge our ſelves, and render reproach for reproach with perſonal terms; much leſs to debaſe and avile the excellent Gifts of God, as is Poeſie, the honour of *David* and *Solomon*, by the Teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt himſelf. Theſe courſes are forbidden us when we are railed upon, and calumniated; how much more when as S. *Peter* ſpeaks, *We are beaten for our faults*; as it falls out in your caſe, if theſe Motives of yours be weak and inſufficient; which we ſhall anon conſider.

You ſay, *you are become Catholick*. Were you not then ſo before? The Creed whereinto you were baptized, is it not the Catholick Faith? The concluſion certes of *Athanaſius*'s Creed, which is but a declaration thereof, ſaith, *Hæc eſt Fides Catholica*. Or is not he a Catholick that holds the Catholick Faith? That which was once anſwered, touching the preſent Church of *England*, to one in a Stationers Shop in *Venice*, that would needs know what was the difference betwixt us and the Catholicks. It was told him none: for we accounted our ſelves good Catholicks. When he unwilling to be put off in his anſwer, for lack of due form in his Queſtion, preſſed to know what was the difference betwixt us and them there. He was anſwered, This; That we believed the Catholick

This is the Catholick Faith.

lick Faith contained in the Creed, but did not believe the Thirteenth Article which the Pope had put to it. When he knew not of any ſuch Article; the Extravagance of *Pope Boniface* was brought, where he *defines it to be altogether of neceſſity to ſalvation, to every humane creature to be under the Biſhop of* Rome. This thirteenth Article, of the thirteenth Apoſtle, good Mr. *Waddeſworth*, it ſeems you have learned; and ſo are become, as ſome now ſpeak and write *Catholick Roman*. That is in true interpretation *Univerſal-particular*; which becauſe they cannot be equalled, the one reſtraining and cutting off from the other, take heed that by ſtraitning your Faith to *Rome*, you have not altered it, and by becoming *Roman*, left off to be *Catholick*.

Thus, if you ſay, *our Anceſtors were all till of late Years*. Excuſe me, Sir, whether you call our Anceſtors the firſt Chriſtian Inhabitants of this Iſle, or the ancient Chriſtians of the Primitive Church; neither thoſe, nor theſe were Roman Catholicks; Namely, the Fathers of the *African* Council, and amongſt theſe S. *Auguſtine*: And therefore by Pope *Boniface* his Sentence, be undoubtedly damned, for taking upon them, by *the Devil's inſtinct* (if we believe another * Pope *Boniface*) to wax proud againſt the Church of *Rome*. Such Catholicks, if ye mean *the moſt of* Chriſtendome *be at this Day*; beware of putting

* *Boniface.* 2. *Epiſt. ad Eulalium.*

putting your ſelf upon that Iſſue. Believe me, either you muſt frame a new Coſmography, yea, a new World, or elſe you are gone if it come to moſt Voices in Chriſtendom. Touching the Names of *Papiſt*, *Traytor*, *Idolater*. The firſt is no miſ-calling you, as comprizing the very Character that differenceth you from all other Catholicks. Neither by our Rhemiſts advice ſhould you be aſhamed of it, ſith to be a Papiſt, by their Interpretation *is nothing elſe, but to be a Chriſtian Man, a Child of the Church, and ſubject to Chriſts Vicar.* The wiſe State of *Venice* have a little different notion of their *Papalines*, excluding from ſundry their conſultations under that name, ſuch of the Nobility as are obliged to the Pope by Eccleſiaſtical promotions. True it is that they apply it alſo to *Papalines in faction*, ſuch as are ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the maintaining of all the Popes uſurped Authority; in which ſenſe I hope you are no Papiſt.

Annotat. in Act. 11. 26.

A *Traytor*, I am aſſured, Mr. Dr. *Hall* will never call you, unleſs he know that you have drunk ſo deep of the Cup of error, as to believe the Pope may depoſe your Prince; that you are not bound to obey him being ſo depoſed; that in that caſe it is lawful, yea, meritorious to kill him; that they are Martyrs that are executed for plotting to blow him up with Gunpowder, though undepoſed; hoping it would be no leſs agreeable to his Holineſs,

neſs, than (that which he deſired) to have kept him from coming to the Crown at firſt. If you be thus perfectly a Papiſt, not only we here in *England*, but I believe his Catholick Majeſty, under whoſe obedience now ye live, whenſoever he ſhould be that Prince, would account you a Traytor, and puniſh you accordingly. I hope you are far from theſe furies.

For *Idolatry*, if to give divine honour to Creatures, deſerve that name, conſider how you can defend or excuſe thoſe Prayers to the Bleſſed Virgin, *Tu nos ab Hoſte protege, & horâ Mortis ſuſcipe.* And to the Croſs, *Auge piis juſtitiam, reiſque dona veniam:* I omit to ſpeak of the Popes *Omnipotency.* I hope alſo you keep your ſelf from this Idolatry.

In Proteſtant Religion, you ſay, *you could never find Uniformity of a ſettled Faith.* How ſo? when you had that ſame * *One only immoveable and unreformable Rule of Faith*, as *Tertullian* calls it, every Lords Day recited in your hearing, if not by your Mouth: I mean *the Creed*, of which *Irenæus* * ſaith, that *he which is able to ſay much of the Faith, exceeds it not, nor he that leſs, diminiſheth*; which † S. *Auguſtine* calls *the Rule common to great and ſmall*; which might well enough have *ſettled and quitted your Conſcience*, whileſt you laboured to find the truth in all doubtful Queſtions. Whereto *how carefully and diligently* you uſed the means of *reading, ſtudying, and praying for Three or Four*

* *De veland. Virg. c.* 1.

* *Lib.* 1. *c.* 3.

† *Epiſt ad Dardanum.*

Four Years, God and your Conſcience beſt know. For *conferring*, I cannot yield you any teſtimony, notwithſtanding our familiarity, and that we were not many Miles aſunder, and your were alſo privy, that I had to do in theſe Controverſies, with ſome of that ſide, and ſaw ſome ſample of the Work. I come now to your Motives.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the contrariety of Sects pretended to be amongſt Reformers.

IN the front whereof is the common exception, to *our contrariety of Sects and opinions*, &c. Firſt, what are all theſe to the Church of *England*, which followeth none but Chriſt? Then, if it be a fault of the Reformed Churches, that there is ſtrife and diviſion amongſt them, as who will juſtifie it; yet let it find pardon, if not for *Corinth*'s ſake, and the Primitive Churches what time *Themiſtius* was fain to excuſe it with an Oration to *Valens* the Emperour, yet even for *Romes*: Where alſo you cannot but know, that in very many and moſt important Points, *Divines* hold one thing, and *Canoniſts* another; The *French*, and lately alſo the *Venetian* Divines, reſiſt to his Face, him, that others ſay no Man may be ſo hardy as to ask, *Domine, cur ita facis? though he ſhould draw with him innumerable Souls to Hell.* Your *Spaniſh* Prelates and Divines would never acknowledge in the Council of *Trent* (the Myſteries whereof are come out at laſt) That Epiſcopal Authority was derived from him, nor conſent to that circumventing Clauſe, *Propo-*

1 Cor. 3 3. *Socrat. l. 4. c. 27.*

nentibus

nentibus Legatis, &c. And were ſtrong that *Reſidence* is, *de Jure Divino*; howſoever they were over-ruled by the *Italian* Faction: Whether they have yet changed their minds, you can better tell than I. The old Faction of the *Thomiſts* and *Scotiſts* is yet a foot, as I perceive by *Rada* his Controverſies. In the beginning whereof the Cenſor of the Book hath this Sentence. *Qua propter audiendi nullatenus ſunt, qui has Theologicas contentiones è medio omnino explodendas arbitrantur.* There is another lately riſen between the *Dominicans* and the *Jeſuites*; both in as great matters, and purſued with as great vehemency, as thoſe of the Reformed Churches, excepting only a few fiery Spirits of *Saxony*. But in the Church of *England*, as Reformation was not brought in by any one Man, but by the joynt conſent of the whole, ſo it is yet continued. *Lutherans*, *Zuinglians*, *Calviniſts*, are not known among us, ſave by hearſay. Whereof it is ſome ſign, That your ſelf do not know them well, as it ſeems, when you diſtinguiſh them from *Proteſtants*. A name firſt given to the Princes and free Cities of *Germany*, that ſought Reformation in the Dyet at *Spire*, *Anno* 1529. and from them paſſed to us and other Countreys where it was effected. Who are then *Proteſtants*, if the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* be not? For of both theſe there were in that Dyet; the *Helvetians* and parts adjoyning of *Germany*, having been reformed at home, firſt by the preaching of *Zuinglius*; the *Saxons*, and the remnant of

Luther.

Luther. Who much about one time, and without any correſpondence, began to oppoſe the Popes Indulgences, and differed not for ought that ever I could yet underſtand, ſave in the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Euchariſt. Yea, in that alſo taught uniformly, That the Body and Blood of our Saviour are preſent; not to the Elements, but to the Receiver, in the uſe, and without Tranſubſtantiation. As for thoſe whom you call *Calviniſts*; and the reſt *Puritans*, *Cartwrightiſts*, and *Browniſts*, tell me in good ſooth, Mr. *Waddeſworth*, how do they differ from the Reformed Churches in *Helvetia*, or the Church of *England*, ſave in the matter of Government only? See then all this contrariety of Sects meetly well reconciled. For *Puritans*, *Cartwrightiſts*, and *Browniſts*, are in ſubſtance of Doctrine all one with *Calviniſts*, and theſe with *Zuinglians*, who were of the firſt *Proteſtants*, and differ little or nothing from thoſe whom ye call *Lutherans*. Whereof this may be a ſenſible proof, that commonly their Adverſaries, and your ſelf after, call them by the ſame name, *The Proteſtant Churches in* Germany, France, Holland, *and* Geneva. And Pope *Leo* the Tenth in his Condemnatory Bull; and likewiſe *Charles* the Fifth in his Imperial Edict, do reflect wholly upon *Luther* and his Followers, without any mention of the other at all. To conclude this matter; as it is undoubtedly a ſign of a good mind to diſlike contention, and diverſities of Opinions, and it may have par-

don to apprehend ſometime more than there is indeed; like to the melancholick old Man in the Comedy, whoſe ſuſpicion makes him to multiply on this manner. *Qui mihi intromiſiſti in ædes quingentos coquos*, ſo to muſter up empty names, without any real difference, as *Puritans*, *Cartwrightiſts*, *Browniſts*; to make *differences* in a few Opinions about *Government* or *Sacraments*, *Sects and Contrarieties*, hath not the character of ingenuous and ſincere dealing, which from you Mr. *Waddeſworth* I did and do expect.

But *ſome of theſe damn each other, avouching their Poſitions to be matters of Faith, not School Queſtions of Opinion only.* Here indeed there is fault on all ſides in this Age, that we cannot be content with the bounds which the ancient Church hath ſet, but every private Opinion muſt be ſtraightways an Article of Faith. Every deciſion of a Pope, every Decree of a Council. And then as Men are eaſily enamoured of their own conceits, and as *Gerſon* wiſely applies that of the Poet, *Qui amant, ſibi ſomnia fingunt*; as if the very marrow of Religion conſiſted in thoſe Points, thoſe that think otherwiſe are Hereticks, and in ſtate of Damnation. The *Roman* Faction goes further, to Fire and Faggot, and all exquiſite Torments, as if thoſe things that make againſt the Papacy, were more ſeverely to be puniſhed than the Blaſphemies of the Jews, or Mahometiſm it ſelf. I do not excuſe the Reformers of this bitterneſs, wherein after your departure out of *England* my

my nameleſs Adverſary that undertook Mr. *Alablaſters* quarrel, giving me over in three of his demands, ran riot in the firſt, about this point of *oppoſition among our ſelves*, and raked together all the vehement ſpeeches of *Luther*, and ſome of his Followers, againſt thoſe whom they call the *Sacramentaries*. Why, who will undertake to defend *Luthers* Speeches, or all that falls from contentious Pens? But even out of thoſe Teſtimonies, which himſelf brings for the worſt that he could on the contrary part; it appears this eagerneſs is not mutual. And in truth, both we in *England*, and the *Helvetians*, and *French*, do maintain a brotherly affection towards them of *Saxony*, how ſpitefully ſoever ſome of them write of us. And even of thoſe whom he calls *Lutherans*, as I perceived while I was at *Norimberg*, the moderater ſort are alike affected towards us. But as touching the avouching our Opinions to be matters of Faith (which Exception is common to you with him) that which I ſhould have anſwered him, if I had found in him any thing but ſpite and ſcorn, I will ſay now to you, Verily in ſome ſort even the leaſt concluſions in Divinity are *matters of Faith*. For both Faith hath to do with them, and they are fetched by Diſcourſe, from the firſt Principles holden by Faith, whence our whole Religion is called by S. *Jude The Faith* once delivered to the Saints. And the leaſt error in them, by conſequence overthrows the ſame Principles whence they are deduced. That makes ſome, to move attention

in their Readers to ſay, *The queſtions are not about ſmall matters, but of the principal Articles of Religion, even about the Foundation.* As *Curæus* whom he cites, ſaith, the queſtion is of two *Articles of Faith.* Firſt, *of that which teacheth that in Chriſt two natures are united.* Secondly, *of the Article, He aſcended into Heaven.* Why, do not both ſides agree to theſe? Yes. But one ſide fetches Arguments againſt ubiquitie from theſe places, and thereupon ſaith, the queſtion is about theſe Articles; perhaps alſo chargeth the other to deny them. He cites *Pappus* Writing thus, *Agitur inter nos de Omnipotentia Dei*, &c. *The controverſie betwixt us, is about the Omnipotency of God. The perſonal Union of the two natures in Chriſt. The communication of Properties. The glorious body of our Saviour*, &c. Lo again, every place of Argument or defence is made the matter of Controverſie. Out of theſe and ſuch like Confeſſions on either ſide, my nameleſs Adverſary will needs inforce, with great pomp and triumph; What think ye? *That ſuch ſanctified Men* (this is his ſcoffing Language) *go not together by the Ears for Moon-ſhine in the Water.* Again, *That all thoſe Myrmidonian Fights and bloody Encounters be not de lanâ Caprinâ aut de umbrâ Aſini.*——Why, who ſaid they were? I will ſet down here my Words, that you may judge of the Conſcience of this Man, and have withal the ſubſtance of my Anſwer to this Objection. *And what if ſome outragious Spirits on each ſide, tranſported with paſſion in their oppoſitions, have uſed moſt bitter and unbeſeeming ſpeeches to their Adverſaries,*

ries, and ſometimes have ſhewed each other ſmall humanity; are you ſo ſimple as not to diſcern between the choler of ſome few opinionate Men, and the conſequence of their Opinions? Have you forgotten S. Hierome *and* Ruffinus *deadly fo-hood, which was rung over the World? or* Epiphanius *and* Chryſoſtomes, *or* Victors *and the* Greek *Biſhops? which proceeded ſo far about a triſle, that he excommunicated them; which is little leſs I think than to condemn to the Pit of Hell. And yet if I ſhould put it to your judgment, I am perſwaded you would grant they held all truth neceſſary to ſalvation. For you muſt remember Pope* Boniface *had not yet coyned the new Article of the Faith, that I mentioned before. What ſhall I ſpeak of S.* Paul *and* Barnabas, *which grew to ſuch bitterneſs, and that about a very little queſtion of conveniency, that though they were ſent out together by the Holy Ghoſt, they brake off company. Theſe be humane paſſions, which wiſdom would we ſhould pity, when they grow to ſuch extremities, upon ſo ſmall cauſe; rather than from their outrage to gather there is juſt cauſe to encreaſe. Do we not ſee that even natural Brethren do ſometimes defie one another, and uſe each other with leſs reſpect than ſtrangers? Now from hence would you conclude they be not Brethren; and hearten them on, and ſay to the one, that ſith his half Brother is not ſo near to him, as he with whom he is thus at odds, he muſt fall out worſe with him. You ſhould well ſo deſerve the hate of God, for a make-bate between brethren.* Theſe were all my Words ſet down in anſwer to his objecting *our own contentions*, and *condemning each other*, to prove that therefore we could not hold continuity with the

ancient Church of *England*, from which we diſſented much more. I held as you may perceive, that neither amongſt our ſelves, nor from our predeceſſors we diſagree in any truth neceſſary to ſalvation. He makes me to ſay, *our diſſentions are about Moon-ſhine, and* de umbrâ aſini, & de lanâ caprinâ, *and triſles, and matters of no conſequence.* To return to you, good Mr. *Waddeſworth*, let Men avouch as confidently as they will touching their own Poſitions, *Eſt de Fide. Nihil certius apud Catholicos*, and of their contraries cry out, *They are Hereticks, renew ancient Hereſies, race the Foundation, deny the Articles of the Creed, Gods Omnipotency*, &c. all becauſe themſelves by Diſcourſe, can (as they think) faſten ſuch things upon them: A ſober Chriſtian muſt not give heed to all that is ſaid in this kind. Theſe things muſt be examined with right judgment, and ever with much charity and patience, remembring that our ſelves know in part, and propheſie in part. In a Word, this ſhould not have ſo much diſquieted you.

Nor yet that which you add, *That every one pretends Scripture. Beſt of all*, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome, For if we ſhould ſay we believe humane reaſons, thou mighteſt with good reaſon be troubled, but when as we receive the Scriptures, and they be ſimple and true, it will be an eaſie thing for thee to judge*, &c. And to what purpoſe indeed ſerves the faculty of Reaſon perfected and poliſhed with learning? wherefore the ſupernatural light of Faith? wherefore the gift of God in us Miniſters conferred by the impoſition of Hands? but to try which ſide handles

Hom. 3. in 2 Ep.

handles the Word of God deceitfully, which ſincerely. But here again, *Each ſide arrogates the Holy Ghoſt in his favour.* What then? If we our ſelves have *the anointing*, we ſhall be able as we are bidden *to try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no?* For we will not believe them, becauſe they ſay they have the Spirit, or cannot be deceived, but becauſe their Doctrine is conſonant to the Principles of Heavenly Truth, which by the Writings inſpired by himſelf, the Holy Ghoſt hath graven in our Hearts. Which Writings are well acknowledged by you, *to be the Law and Rule according whereunto, in judgment of Religion we muſt proceed.*

1 Joh. 2. 20, 27. & 4. 1.

CHAP. III.

Of the want of an Humane, External, Infallible Judge and Interpreter.

AS to that you ſay, *did above all trouble you, the want of a certain, humane external, infallible Judge to interpret Scripture, and define Queſtions of Faith without error.* What if you found not an external humane Judge, if you had an internal divine one? And having *an infallible Rule* by which your humane Judge ſhould proceed, why ſhould you truſt another Mans applying it, rather than your own, in a matter concerning your own ſalvation? But if God have left us no ſuch external Judge, if Antiquity knew none, if Religion need none, it was no juſt motive to leave us, that you could find none, amongſt all thoſe Sects which you mention, and how much leſs if you have not a whit amended your ſelf where you are; which we ſhall conſider by and by.

I ſay then firſt, That to make this your motive of any moment, it muſt be ſhewed, that God hath appointed ſuch a Judge in his Church. Let that appear out of ſome paſſage of Holy Scripture. For your conceit or deſire that ſuch a Judge there ſhould be, to whom you might in Conſcience

ſcience obey, and yield your ſelf, becauſe he could not err, doth not prove it. You would know the truth, only by the Authority, and ſole pronouncing of the Judges Mouth. A ſhort and eaſie way, which to moſt Men is plauſible, becauſe it ſpares the pains of Study and Diſcourſe. To ſuch eſpecially, as either out of weakneſs dare not truſt their own Judgment, or account it ſhall have the merit of humility, to be led by their Teachers, But what now if God will have you *call no Man your Father upon Earth?* If he will ſend you to his Word? and after you have received the Faith by the Churches Teſtimony out of the eaſie and plain places thereof, bid you *Search the Scriptures*, to find the Truth in the remnant, and pick it out by your own induſtry. The rich Man being in Hell-Torments (in whoſe Words I doubt not but our Saviour doth imperſonate and repreſent the conceits of many Men living in this World) preſumes that if one were ſent from the Dead, his Kinſmen would hearken to him, but he is remitted *to* Moſes *and the Prophets.* The *Jews* as I perceived by Speech with ſome of them at *Venice*, make it one of their Motives, that our Lord Jeſus is not the Chriſt. *He ſhould not*, ſay they, *have come in ſuch a faſhion, to leave his own Nation in doubt and ſuſpence; and ſcandalize ſo many thouſands; but ſo as all Men might know him to be what he was.* Miſerable Men! that will give Laws to God. Of which fault be you aware alſo (good Mr. *Waddeſworth*) and be con-

Luke 16.

content to take, not to preſcribe the means by which you will be brought unto the knowledge of the Truth: To uſe what he hath given, not to conjecture and divine what he muſt give.

But God fails not his Church in ſuch means as be neceſſary. Let us therefore conſider the neceſſity of this Judge. Where I beſeech you conſider (for I am ſure you cannot but know it) that *all things neceſſary to ſalvation are evidently ſet down in Holy Scripture?* This both the Scriptures themſelves do teach, and the Fathers avouch, namely S. *Auguſtine* and S. *Chryſoſtome*, and others. I forbear to ſet down their Words, or further to confirm this *Lemma*, which I proved at large againſt another Adverſary, and ſhall at all times make good if it be queſtioned. Beſides theſe Points, there are a great many other though not of ſuch neceſſity, yet evidently laid down alſo in the ſame Scriptures, by occaſion of them. Many by juſt Diſcourſe may be cleared from theſe, and the former. If any thing yet remain in ſuſpence, and unknown, yea or if you will, erred in, ſo it be not wilfully and obſtinately, yet ſhall it be ever without peril of damnation to him that receiveth what the Holy Ghoſt hath plainly delivered. What neceſſity then of your imaginary Judge? Yes: for Unity is a goodly thing, not only in matters neceſſary, but univerſally in all. Controverſies muſt not be endleſs. But how comes it to paſs then that your Judge whoſoever he be, doth not all

all this while decide the Queſtion touching the conception of the Bleſſed *Virgin*, that is between the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, nor that between the *Dominicans* and *Jeſuites* touching *Grace* and *Free-will*, and all other the Points that are controverted in the Schools; to ſpare contention and time (a precious Commodity among wiſe Men) and give this honour to *Divinity* alone, that in it all doubts ſhould be reduced to certainties? Or if it ſeem no wiſdom to be haſty in deciding ſuch Queſtions; wherein Witty and Learned Men are ingaged, leſt in ſtead of changing their Opinions, they ſhould fall to challenge not only the *infallibility*, but which were more dangerous the *Authority* of their Judge: If it be thought better to leave ſcope to Opinions, oppoſition it ſelf profitably ſerving to the boulting out of the Truth. If Unity in all things be as it ſeems deſpaired of, by this your *Gellius* himſelf; why are we not content with *Unity in things neceſſary to Salvation*, expreſly ſet down in Holy Scripture: And anciently thought to ſuffice, reſerving Infallibility as an honour proper to God ſpeaking there? Why ſhould it not be thought to ſuffice, that every Man having imbraced that neceſſary Truth, which is the Rule of our Faith, thereby try the Spirits whether they be of God or no. If he meet with any that hath not that Doctrine, receive him not to Houſe, nor ſalute him. If conſenting to that, but otherwiſe infirm or erring, yet charitably bear with him. This for every

Cic. 1. de Legibus.

ry private Man. As for the publick order, and peace of the Church, God hath given Paſtors and Teachers, that we ſhould not be carried about with every wind of Do-
Epheſ. 4. ctrine, and amongſt them appointed Biſhops, to command that Men teach no other or foreign Doctrine, which was the end of *Timothy* his leaving at *Epheſus*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3.
Acts 15. 6. Then, the Apoſtles themſelves by their example, have commended to the Church the wholeſome uſe of Synods, to determine of ſuch controverſies as cannot by the former means be compoſed; but ſtill by the Holy Scriptures, *the Law or Rule*, as you ſay well, *by which all theſe Judges muſt proceed.* Which if they do not, then may they be deceived themſelves, and deceive others as experience hath ſhewed, yet never be able to extinguiſh the truth.

To come to Antiquity. There is not any one thing belonging to Chriſtian Religion, if we conſider well, of more importance, than how the purity of the whole may be maintained. The Ancients that write of the reſt of Chriſtian Doctrine, is it not a miracle, had they known any ſuch infallible Judge, in whoſe Oracle the ſecurity of all, with the perpetual tranquillity of the Church is contained, they ſhould ſay nothing of him? There was never any Age wherein there have not been Hereſies, and Sects: to which of them was it ever objected that they had no infallible Judge? How ſoon would they have ſought to amend that defect, if it had been a currant Doctrine in thoſe times, that the

the true Church cannot be without ſuch an Officer? The Fathers that dealt with them, why did they not lay aſide all diſputing, and appeal them only to this Barr? Unleſs perhaps that were the lett which Cardinal *Bellarmine* tells the *Venetians*, hindred S. *Paul* from appealing to S. *Peter*, *Leſt they ſhould have made their Adverſaries to laugh at them for their labour.* Well: howſoever the Cardinal hath found out a merry reaſon for S. *Paul*'s appealing to *Cæſars* Judgment, not *Peter*'s, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the laughter of Pagans: what ſhall we ſay when the Fathers write profeſſedly to inſtruct Catholick Men, of the *forepleadings and advantages to be uſed againſt Hereticks*, even without deſcending to tryal by Scriptures? or of ſome *certain general and ordinary way to diſcern the Truth of the Catholick Faith from the prophane novelties of Hereſies?* Had they known of this infallible Judge, ſhould we not have heard of him in this ſo proper a place, and as it were in a cauſe belonging to his own Court. Nay doth not the writing it ſelf of ſuch Books ſhew, that this matter was wholly unknown to Antiquity? For had the Church been in poſſeſſion of ſo eaſie and ſure a courſe to diſcover and diſcard hereſies, they ſhould not have needded to task themſelves to find out any other. But the truth is, infallibility is, and ever hath been accounted proper to Chriſts Judgment. And as hath been ſaid, all neceſſary Truth to Salvation he hath delivered us in his Word. That Word, himſelf tells us,

Riſpoſta ad una lettera, &c.

Tertull. de Præſcript. &c.

Vincent. Lyrinenſ.

us, ſhall judge at the laſt day. Yea, in all true deciſions of Faith, that word even now judgeth. *Chriſt judgeth, the Apoſtle ſits Judge. Chriſt ſpeaks in the Apoſtle.* Thus Antiquity.

Neither are they moved a whit with that Objection: *That the Scriptures are often the matter of Controverſies.* For in that caſe the remedy was eaſie which S. *Auguſtine* ſhews *to have recourſe to the plain places, and manifeſt ſuch as ſhould need no interpreter:* for ſuch there be, by which the other may be cleared. The ſame may be ſaid, if ſometimes it be queſtioned, *Which be Scriptures, which not.* I think it was never heard of, in the Church, that there was an external infallible Judge, who could determine that queſtion. Arguments may be brought from the conſent or diſſent with other Scriptures; from the atteſtation of Antiquity, and inherent ſigns of Divine Authority, or humane infirmity: but if the Auditor or Adverſary yield not to theſe, ſuch parts of neceſſity muſt needs be laid aſide. If all Scripture be denied (which is as it were *exceptio in judicem ante litis conteſtationem*) Faith hath no place, only reaſon remains. To which I think it will ſcarce ſeem reaſonable, if you ſhould ſay, *Though all Men are lyers, yet this Judge is infallible; and to him thou oughteſt in conſcience to obey and yield thy underſtanding in all his Determinations, for he cannot err.* No not if all Men in the World ſhould ſay it. Unleſs you firſt ſet down there is a God, and eſtabliſh the authority of the Books of

Lib. de unitate Eccleſ. c. 5. & 19.

of Holy Scripture, as his voice, and thence ſhew if you can, the warrant of this priviledge.

Where you affirm, *The Scriptures to be the Law and the Rule, but alone of themſelves cannot be Judges*; If you mean, without being produced, applied, and heard; you ſay truth. Yet *Nicodemus* ſpake not amiſs, when he demanded, *Doth our Law judge any Man, unleſs it hear him firſt?* he meant the ſame which S. *Paul*, when he ſaid of the High Prieſt, *thou ſitteſt to judge me according to the Law*: and ſo do we when we ſay the ſame. Neither do we ſend you *to Angels, or God himſelf immediately*, but ſpeaking by his Spirit in the Scriptures, and (as I have right now ſaid) alledged, and by diſcourſe applyed to the matters in queſtion. As for *Princes*, ſince it pleaſed you to make an excurſion to them, if we ſhould make them infallible Judges, or give them Authority to decree in Religion as they liſt, *as Gardiner did to King* Henry *the Eight*, it might well be condemned for monſtrous, as it was by *Calvin*. As for the purpoſe, *Licere Regi interdicere populo uſum calicis in Cœna. Quare? Poteſtas n. ſumma eſt penes Regem*, quoth *Gardiner*. This was to make the King as abſolute a Tyrant in the Church, as the Pope claimed to be. But, *that Princes which obey the truth, have commandment from God, to command good things, and forbid evil, not only in matters pertaining to humane ſociety, but alſo the Religion of God*, This is no new ſtrange Doctrine, but *Calvins*, and ours, and

Joh. 7 51.

Inſtit. l. 4. c. 20.

August. contr. Cresc. l. 3. c. 51.

and S. *Augustines*, in so many words. And this is all the Headship of the Church we give to Kings. Whereof a Queen is as well capable as a King, since it is an act of *Authority*, not Ecclesiastical *Ministery*; proceeding from eminency of power, not of knowledge, or holiness. Wherein not only *a learned King*, as ours is; but a good old Woman (as Queen *Elizabeth*, besides her Princely dignity was) may excel, as your selves confess, your infallible Judge himself. But in *power* he saith, he is above all: which not to examine for the present, in this Power Princes are above all their Subjects I trow; and S. *Augustine* saith plainly, *to command and forbid, even in the Religion of God*, still according to Gods Word, which is the touchstone of Good and Evil. Neither was *King* Henry *the Eight*, the first Prince that exercised this power, witness *David* and *Solomon*, and the rest of the Kings of *Judah* before Christ. And since that Kings were Christians, *The affairs of the Church have depended upon them, and the greatest Synods have been by their Decree, as* Socrates expresly saith. Nor did King *Henry* claim any new thing in this Land, but restored to the Crown the ancient right thereof, which sundry his Predecessors had exercised, as our Historians and Lawyers with one consent affirm.

Proœmiol. 5.

The rest of your induction *of Archbishops, Bishops, and whole Clergy in their Convocation-House, and a Council of all Lutherans, Calvinists, Protestants*, &c. is but a needless pomp of

of words, ſtriving to win by a form of diſcourſe, that which gladly ſhall be yielded at the firſt demand. They might all err, if they were as many as the Sand on the Sea Shoar, if they did not rightly apply the Rule of Holy Scriptures, by which as you acknowledge the external *Judge*, which you ſeek, muſt proceed. As to your demand therefore, *how you ſhould be ſure when, and wherein they did, and did not err; where you ſhould have fixed your foot?* to forbear to skirmiſh with your confirmation (*That though, à poſſe ad eſſe non valet ſemper conſequentia, yet aliquando valet: &, fruſtra dicitur potentia quæ nunquam ducitur in actum.*) To the former whereof I might tell you, that without queſtion, *nunquam valet:* And to the ſecond, that I can very well allow, that *errandi potentia*, among Proteſtants be ever *fruſtra*. This I ſay freely, That if you come with this reſolution to learn nothing by diſcourſe, or evidence of Scripture, but only by the meer pronouncing of a humane external Judge's Mouth, to whom you would yield your underſtanding in all his determinations: If, as the Jeſuites teach their Scholars, you *will wholly deny your own judgment*, and reſolve, *that if this Judge ſhall ſay, that is black, which appears to your Eyes white, you will ſay it is black too*; you have poſed all the Proteſtants; they cannot tell how to teach you infallibly. Withal I muſt tell you thus much, that this preparation of mind in a Scholar, as you are, in a Miniſter, yea in a Chriſtian, that had but learned his Creed, much

Regula 1. & 13.

much more that had from a Child known the Holy Scriptures, that *are able to make us*
1 Tim. 3. 15. *wise to ſalvation, through the Faith that is in Chriſt Jeſus*, were too great weakneſs, and,
1 Cor. 14. 20. to uſe the Apoſtles Phraſe, *childiſhneſs* of underſtanding.

But *at length you heard a ſound of Harmony and Conſent, that in the Catholick Church, as in* Noah's *Ark, was infallibility, and poſſibility of ſalvation; which occaſioned you to ſeek out, and to enter into this Ark of* Noah. The ſound of Conſent and Infallibility is moſt pleaſing and harmonious, and undoubtedly ever and only to be found in the Catholick Church, to wit, in the Rule of Faith, and in the Holy Scriptures, and ſuch neceſſary Doctrine as perfectly concordeth with the ſame. But as in Song many diſcords do paſs in ſmaller Notes, without offence of the Ears, ſo ſhould they in ſmaller matters of Opinion in the Church, without the offence of judicious and charitable minds. Which yet I ſpeak not to juſtifie them; nay, I am verily of the mind, That this is the thing that hath marred the Church Muſick in both kinds, that too much liberty is taken in deſcant to depart from the Ground, and as one ſaith, *notæ nimium denigrantur*. The fault of the *Italians*: though they think themſelves the only Songſters in the World. But to return to you, tell me, I beſeech you (good Mr. *Waddeſworth*) was this the Harmony that tranſported you. The Pope himſelf *I cannot err, and to me thou oughteſt to have* [illegible] *for deciſion of doubts in matters of Faith.*

And

And whereas this is not only denyed by Proteſtants, but hath been ever by the *French*, and anciently I am ſure by the *Spaniſh*, lately by ſome *Italian* Divines alſo, unleſs he uſe due means to find the truth; yea, whereas it is the iſſue of all the Controverſies of this age; in this ſnare *you faſtened your Foot, This was the Center that ſettled your Conſcience, this the ſolid and firm foundation of your Faith.* What? and did it not move you, that ſome limit this infallibility of the Pope thus, *If he enter Canonically, if he proceed adviſedly, and maturely, uſing that diligence that is fit to find out the Truth*; that is (as you ſaid before) proceeding by the Rule, the Scriptures? Albeit to the Fathers of the *African Council* it ſeemed incredible (as they write in their Synodal Epiſtle to P. *Cœleſtine* ſtanding for Appeals to himſelf) that God can inſpire the right in tryal to one, denying it to many Biſhops in a Council. Tell us then, who made you ſecure of theſe things? or did you in truth, never ſo much as make queſtion of them, but hearing this harmonious ſound, *The Pope is the Infallible Judge*, you truſted the new Maſters of that ſide, *Gregory de Valentia*, and *Bellarmine*, that *whether the Pope in defining do uſe diligence or no, if he do define, he ſhall define infallibly.* Alas Sir! *if this were the reſt you found for the ſoale of your Foot*, inſtead of *moveable Water*, you fell upon mire and puddle; Or rather like to another Dove mentioned in Scripture, *columba ſeducta non habens Cor*, by the moſt chaffy ſhrap that ever was ſet before the Eyes of winged

Analyſi Fidei Catholi. par. 3.

Oſeæ 2. 11.

Fowl, were brought to the door-fal. Excuſe my grief, mixed I confeſs with ſome indignation, but more love to you, though I thus write. Many things there be in *Popery* inconvenient, and to my conceit weakly and ungroundedly affirmed, to ſay no more; but this is ſo abſurd and palpable a flattery, as to omit to ſpeak of you, for my part I cannot be perſwaded that *Paulus* the Fifth believes it himſelf. For conſider, I pray, what needed anciently the Chriſtian Emperours, and ſometimes at the requeſt of the Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves, to have gathered together ſo many Biſhops from ſo divers parts of the World to celebrate Councils, if it had been known and believed then, that one Mans Sentence might have cleared all controverſies, and put all Hereſies to ſilence? How durſt ſundry holy, and learned Men have rejected his deciſions, whether right or wrong is not now the queſtion, unchriſtianly out of doubt on their parts, if he had been then holden the infallible Oracle of our Religion? As when *Polycrates*, with the Biſhops of *Aſia*, and *Irenæus* alſo yielded not to *Victor*, excommunicating the Eaſtern Churches about the celebration of *Eaſter*, when S. *Cyprian*, with the firſt Council of *Carthage* of eighty ſix Biſhops had Decreed, That ſuch as were baptized by Hereticks, ſhould be rebaptized, and certified *Stephanus* of this Decree, and he oppoſed it, and would have nothing innovated, would *Cyprian* after that have reſiſted and confuted *Stephanus* his Letter, had he known him for infallible? And how doth he

he confute him? as *erring*, *writing impertinently*, *contrary to himſelf*. Yea, let it be obſerved, that he doth not only not account *Stephanus* infallible, but not ſo much as a Judge over any Biſhop. See the Vote of *Cyprian*, and note thoſe Words. *Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum Epiſcopum ſe eſſe Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit, quando habeat omnis Epiſcopus pro licentia libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ, arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab alio non poſſit cum nec ipſe poſſit alterum judicare. Sed exſpectemus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus & ſolus habet poteſtatem & præponendi in Eccleſiæ ſuæ gubernatione, & de actu noſtro judicandi.* A paſſage worthy to be noted alſo, for the clearing of the independence of Epiſcopal Authority from the Pope, which I now let paſs. Neither was S. *Cyprian* herein alone: *Firmilianus*, and the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, reſiſted *Stephanus* no leſs, as appears by his Epiſtle, which in the Roman Edition of *Manutius*, ſet forth by the command of *Pius* the Fourth, with the ſurvey of four Cardinals, whereof one is now a *Saint*, *with exquiſite diligence*; is wholly left out. And *Pamelius* ſaith he thinks purpoſely, for himſelf is of the mind that it had been better it had never come forth. But to return to our purpoſe. The Fathers of the Council of *Africk*, and S. *Auguſtine* amongſt them, reſiſt three Popes ſucceeding each other, *Zoſimus*, *Boniface*, and *Cœleſtinus*, about appeals to *Rome*; ſhall we think they would ever have done it, if they had known

Epiſtola ad Pompeium.

or imagined them to be the ſupream and infallible Judges in the Church? I let paſs the Schiſm between the *Greek* and the *Latin* Church, which had not happened, if this Doctrine had been anciently received. Nay, it is very plain in Story, that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s lifting up himſelf to be univerſal *Biſhop* chiefly cauſed it. To conclude, neither *Liberius*, nor *Honorius*, to omit many other Biſhops of *Rome*, had ever been taxed of hereſie, if this had anciently been currant, that the Pope is infallible. I will not ſtand now to examine the ſhameful defence that *Bellarmine* makes for the latter of theſe, bearing down *Fathers*, *Councils*, *Stories*, *Popes themſelves*, as all falſified or deceived herein. Wherein becauſe he is learnedly refuted by Dr. *Raynolds*, I inſiſt not upon it. This I preſs, That all thoſe Writers and Councils, and amongſt them Pope *Leo* the Second accurſing *Honorius*, did not then hold, that which by *Pighius* and the *Jeſuites* is undertaken, that the Pope is infallible. Even the Council of *Baſil*, depoſing *Eugenius* (for obſtinately reſiſting this Truth of the Catholick Faith, *That the Council is above the Pope*) as an Heretick, doth ſhew the ſenſe of Chriſtendom even in theſe latter times, how corrupt ſoever, both in Rule and Practice.

And becauſe you make this infallible Judge to be alſo *an infallible Interpreter* of Holy Scripture, how happens it that *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* conſults with *Hierome* about the meaning of ſundry Texts of Scripture, when

when it ſeems himſelf might have taken his Pen, and ſet him down quickly, that which ſhould have taught both him and the whole Church, not only without danger but even poſſibility of error? Sure we are little beholding to the diligence of our Anceſtors, that have not more carefully regiſtred the *Commentaries* (or becauſe they have had for ſundry Ages ſmall time to write juſt Commentaries) the Expoſitions which in their Sermons, or otherwiſe the *Biſhops* of *Rome* have made of Holy Scripture. A work which if this Doctrine were true, were more worth than all the Fathers; and would juſtifie that blaſphemy of the Canon Law, where by a ſhameful corruption of S. *Auguſtine*, *the Decretals of Popes are inrolled amongſt the Canonical Scriptures.* I am already too long in ſo plain a matter: Yet one proof more which is of all moſt ſenſible. Being admoniſhed by this your conceit of an infallible Interpreter, I chanced to turn over the Popes Decretals, and obſerved the interpretation of Scriptures. What ſhall I ſay? I find them ſo lewd, and clean beſide the purpoſe, yea oftentimes ſo childiſh and ridiculous, both in giving the ſenſe, and in the application, that I proteſt to you in the preſence of God, nothing doth more loath me of Popery, than the handling of Holy Scripture by your infallible Interpreter alone. Conſider a few of the particulars, and eſpecially ſuch as concern the Popes own Authority. To juſtifie his exacting an Oath of Fealty of an Archbiſhop, to whom he grants the Pall, is brought *our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*,

C. in Canonicis, diſt. 19.

Significaſti de electione. Joh. 21. 15.

Chriſt, who committing the care of his Sheep to Peter, did put too a condition, ſaying, *Si diligis me, paſce oves meas.* Chriſt ſaid, If thou loveſt me, feed my Sheep; Why may not the Pope ſay, If you will ſwear me fealty, you ſhall have the Pall. But firſt he corrupts the Text: Chriſt ſaid not, *If thou loveſt me*: Then, Chriſt puts not *Peters* love as a condition of Feeding, but feeding as a proof and effect of his love And if the feeding of Chriſts ſheep were ſought, love to him and them might ſuffice to be profeſſed, or if he would needs have more than Chriſt required, to be ſworn. What is this to the Oath of Fealty? Straight after to the Objection, that *all Oaths are prohibited by Chriſt, nor any ſuch thing can be found appointed by the Apoſtles after the Lord, or in the Councils*, he urges the Words following in the Text, Matt. 5.34. *Swear not at all; quod amplius eſt, à malo eſt*, that is, ſaith he, *Evil compels us by Chriſts permiſſion to exact more. Is it not evil to go from the Popes obedience? to condemn Biſhops without his privity? to tranſlate Biſhops by the Kings commandment?* See the place, and tell me of your Interpreters Infallibility. Treating of the Tranſlation of Biſhops, or ſuch as are elected unto other Sees, he ſaith: *That ſince the ſpiritual Band is ſtronger than the carnal, it cannot be doubted but Almighty God hath reſerved the diſſolution of the ſpiritual Marriage that is betwixt a Biſhop and his Church, to his own judgment alone; charging that whom God hath joyned, man ſever not. For it is not by humane but rather divine power that ſpiritual marriage*

Inter corpor. De tranſlat. Epiſcopi, Matth. 19. 26.

is

is diſſolved, when as by tranſlation or ceſſion by the authority of the Biſhop of Rome (*whom it is plain to be the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt*) *a Biſhop is removed from his Church.* An admirable interpretation of the Text, *Quos Deus conjunxit!* by which the Pope not only challengeth that which is proper to Gods judgment only, as he ſaith, *viz.* to diſſolve the Bond of ſpiritual Wedlock; but becauſe that is the ſtronger, of carnal it ſeems alſo; when it ſhall pleaſe him.

De ſacra unctione. Eſay 9. 6. 1 Sam. 9. 24.

The anointing of a Prince ſince Chriſts coming *is tranſlated from the Head to the Shoulder, by which Principality is fitly deſigned, according to that which is read,* Factus eſt principatus ſuper humerum ejus; *for ſignifying alſo whereof,* Samuel *cauſed the ſhoulder to be ſet before* Saul. Who ſhould ever have underſtood theſe Texts, if your infallible Interpreter had not declared them? But this is nothing yet to the expoſition of thoſe Texts, which the Pope interprets in his anſwer to the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, as *Subditi eſtote omni humanæ Creaturæ propter Deum*, &c. He tells him that S. *Peter wrote that to his own Subjects, to provoke them to the merit of humility. For if he had meant thereby to lay the yoke of ſubjection upon Prieſts, it would follow that every Servant were to rule over them, ſince it is ſaid,* Omni humanæ creaturæ. After, *It is not barely ſet down,* Regi præcellenti, *but there is put between, perhaps not without cauſe,* tanquam: *And that which follows,* ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem verò bonorum, *is not to be underſtood that the King or Emperor hath*

Solicitæ. De majoritate. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

V. I.

hath received the power of the Sword upon good and evil Men, ſave only thoſe who uſing the ſword are committed to his juriſdiction according to that which the Truth ſaith, They which take the Sword ſhall periſh with the Sword. *For no Man ought or can judge anothers Servant, ſince the Servant according to the Apoſtle ſtandeth or falleth to his own Lord.* For the love of God conſider this Interpretation, and compare it with S. *Chryſoſtome* upon *Rom.* 13. Nay do but read the Text attentively, and judge of the infallibility of your interpreter. Straight after he tells the Emperor, *That he might have underſtood the prerogative of Prieſthood out of that which was ſaid, not of every Man but of God, not to the King but to the Prieſt, not to one deſcending of the Royal Stock, but of the Prieſtly Linage of the Prieſts, to wit, which were in Anathot. Behold I have ſet thee over Nations and Kingdoms, to pull up, and deſtroy, to build and to plant.* See the Prerogative of the Prieſthood out of *Jeremies* calling to be a Prophet. O if he had been high Prieſt! This had been a Text for the nonce. But he goes on. It is ſaid in Gods Law alſo, † *Diis non detrahes, & Principem populi tui non maledices. Which ſetting Prieſts before Kings, calls them Gods, and the other, Princes.* Compare this expoſition with *David*'s and *Paul*'s, *Pſal.* 82. and *Acts* 23. 5. and ye ſhall ſee how the Interpreter hath hit the mark. Again, you ought to have known, *quod fecit Deus duo magna luminaria,* &c. See the Expoſition, and the difference between the Pope and Kings, both in the Text and Gloſs. Now although

Matth. 26. 52.

Jer. 1. 10.

Exod. 22. 28. † Thou ſhalt not rail on the Gods, nor curſe the Prince of thy people.

Gen. 1. 16.

although the Gloſs-Writer were no excellent Calculator, yet out of *Clavius* the account may be cleared: who tells us the Sun exceeds the Moon 6539. times and a Fifth. I let paſs the collection out of *Paſce oves meas*, that *he belongs not to Chriſts Fold, that doth not acknowledge* Peter *and his Succeſſors his Maſters and Paſtors:* out of *Quodcunque ligaveris*, that nothing is excepted. Indeed the Pope excepts nothing, but looſeth Vows, Contracts, Oaths, the Bond of Allegiance and Fealty between Subjects and their Princes: The Commandment of Chriſt, *Drink ye all of this*, &c. But our Lord expounds himſelf, *John* 20. *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted*, &c.

Joh. 21. 16.

Matth. 16. 19.

Ex ore ſedentis in Throno procedebat gladius bis acutus. *This is*, ſaith the Pope, *the Sword of* Solomon, *which cuts on both ſides, giving every Man his own. We then who albeit unworthy hold the place of the true* Solomon, *by the favour of God, do wiſely exerciſe this Sword, when ſuch cauſes as in our audience are lawfully canvaſſed, we do with Juſtice determine.* This interpretation firſt corrupts the Text, for it hath not, out of the Mouth of *him that ſate on the Throne*, but that *ſate on the Horſe*; next, it perverts it, for it is not the Sword of *Juſtice* but of Chriſts *Word*, which is more *piercing than any two-Edged Sword that iſſueth out of his Mouth.* As for that of *Juſtice*, he never aſſumed it, but renounced it rather, when he ſaid. *Man, who made me a divider to you?* Luke 12. 14. ¶ To prove that in *other Regions beſides the patrimony of the Church, the Pope*

3 *Ex ore. De his quæ ſunt, Tit.* 11.

Heb 4 12.

4 *Per venerabi em. Qui filii ſint legitimi.* Deut. 17. 8.

Pope doth caſually exerciſe temporal Juriſdiction, it is ſaid in *Deuteronomy*, *Si difficile ſit & ambiguum*, &c. And becauſe *Deuteronomy* is by interpretation the ſecond Law, *Surely by the force of the Word it is proved, that what is there decreed ſhould be obſerved in the New Teſtament. For the place which the Lord did chuſe is known to be the Apoſtolick See. For when as* Peter *fleeing went out of the City, the Lord minding to call him back to the place he had choſen, being asked of him, Lord whither goeſt thou? anſwered, I go to* Rome *to be crucified again, The Prieſts of the Tribe of* Levi *are the Popes coadjutors. The high Prieſt or Judge, he to whom the Lord ſaid in* Peter, Quodcunque ligaveris, *&c. His Vicar who is a Prieſt for ever after the Order of* Melchiſedeck, *appointed by God the Judge of quick and dead. He that contemns the Popes Sentence is to be excommunicated, for that is the meaning of being commanded to be put to death.* Doth not this well follow out of the word *Deuteronomy*? And *Rome is the place that Chriſt did chooſe,* becauſe he went, he ſaid, to *be crucified there.* Only there is a ſcruple of the High Prieſt, for as much as he that is High Prieſt after *Melchiſedeck*'s Order, ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὸν ἱερωσύνην, hath a Prieſthood that paſſes not into another, *Heb.* 7. He adds there, that *Paul* that he might declare the fulneſs of power, writing to the *Corinthians* ſaith: *Know ye not that ye ſhall judge the Angels?* how much more the things of the World? Is this then the Popes plenitude of Power, to judge ſecular things? or was *Corinth* the *Apoſtolick* See, and ſo many Popes there

1 Cor. 6. 3.

there even of the *meaneſt of the Church?* What ſhall we ſay to that Expoſition of the famous Text, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam: The Lord* (he ſaith) *taking* Peter *into the fellowſhip of the undivided Unity, would have him to be called that, which he was himſelf, that the building of the eternal Temple might by the marvelous gift of God conſiſt in* Peter's *firmneſs.* What is this *undivided* Unity? Not of the Trinity, I trow, or natures in Chriſt. What then? his Office? of which he ſaid a little before out of the Apoſtle, that *no Man can lay any other foundation but Jeſus Chriſt.* Yes: that *from* Peter *as a certain head he ſhould as it were pour abroad his gifts into his whole body.* That the *Church might ſtand upon* Peter's *firmneſs.* This Foundation S. *Paul* knew not, when he blamed *I am of Cephas. Peters* infirmity cannot bear up the weight of ſuch a building, much leſs (which we muſt remember the Romaniſts underſtand by this *Jargon*) the *Popes his Succeſſors.*

Matth. 16. 18. *Cap. fundamenta de Elect. in 6.*

Such another interpretation is that of Pope *Boniface*, that makes *Unum Ovile & unus Paſtor*, the Church and the Pope. But it is plain our Saviour alludes to the Prophecies, *Ezek.* 34. 23. and 37. 24. where the Lord calls that one Paſtor *his ſervant* David. What blaſphemy is this, thus to uſurp Chriſts Royalties? What Father, what Council, what Catholick man ever interpreted this Text on this manner? By which the Pope while he ſeeks the name of the Shepherd, ſhuts himſelf out of Chriſts fold?

Joh. 10. 16. *Extra unum Teſtam.*

Yea

Cant. 4. 9. *C. quoniam. De immunitate.*

Yea the ſame Pope calls the Church *his Spouſe* alſo, and ſo other Popes ſince. S. *John* the *Baptiſt* tells them, that he that *hath the Bride is the Bridegroom.* S. Paul *prepared her to one Husband Chriſt.* If ſhe be the Popes Spouſe with her will, ſhe is a Harlot: if againſt her will, he is a Raviſher, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt will deliver her out of his lewd imbracements, crying out of the violence which ſhe ſuffers, as it is to be hoped ſhortly.

That in the Churches power are two Swords, the ſpiritual and temporal, we are taught by the Words of the Goſpel, ſaith the ſame *Boniface.* For when the Apoſtles ſaid, *Behold, there be two ſwords here* (to wit in the Church) *when the Apoſtles ſpake thus, the Lord anſwered not*

Luk. 22. 38

that it was too much, but enough. Certainly, he that denies the temporal Sword to be in Peter's *power, doth ill obſerve the Speech which* our Lord utters, *Put up thy Sword into thy ſheath.* No doubt an infallible Interpretation; by which it ſhould appear that both the Swords that were in our Saviours company, hung by S. *Peter*'s ſide, or elſe that ſome other had the ſpiritual, leaving none to S. *Peter*, but that which he might not uſe. The Expoſition is S. *Bernards*, you will ſay. But in an Epiſtle parænetical to the Pope himſelf; S. *Bernard* might have leave to uſe alluſions, and after his manner to be liberal of all that the See of *Rome* challenged, that he might have the more Authority to reform the abuſes of it. As to grant *Peter* the temporal Sword, but ſo, as he muſt not uſe it. *Quid tu gladium denuo uſurpare tentes, quem ſemel juſſus es ponere in vaginam?*

and

and he ſhews how theſe two Swords be the Churches. *The one to be drawn out for the Church, the other alſo by the Church. This by the Prieſts, that by the Souldiers hand, but at the beck of the Prieſt, and bidding of the Emperor.* But the Pope in a Decretal Epiſtle, pretending to teach the World, in a Point as he pronounces, *neceſſary to Salvation*, with ſuch an Interpretation as this; argues little reverence to the Word of God, and a very mean Opinion of the Judgments and Conſciences of Chriſten Men, if they could not diſcern this to be a Strangers Voice, not Chriſts. Beſides that, he changes S. *Bernards* Words, and clean perverts his meaning. For *exerendus*, he puts in *exercendus*. For *ille Sacerdotis, is militis manu, ſed ſanè ad nutum Sacerdotis & juſſum Imperatoris.* Pope *Boniface* thinking *juſſum* too abſolute in the Emperor, makes him to be the executioner, and joyns him with the Souldier, on this manner. *Ille Sacerdotum, is manu Regum & Militum ſed ad nutum & patientiam Sacerdotis.* S. *Bernard* makes the executive power to be in the Souldier, the directive in the Prieſt, the commanding in the Emperor. Pope *Boniface* makes the Kings and Souldiers to have only the executive, the directive and permiſſive to be in the Prieſt. Yea ſword, he ſaith, muſt be under Sword. For where the Apoſtle ſaith, *There is no power but of God, quæ autem ſunt, à Deo ordinati ſunt*; more fully in the original Text, the *powers that are, are ordained*, that is, appointed *of God*: The Interpreter here dreams of *order* and *ſubordination*. Rom. 13. 1.

tion, and cites a saying of *Dionysius*, that *the lowest things are reduced to the highest by the middlemost*; a conceit that makes nothing to the purpose of the Apostle in that place.

He proceeds and tells us, that *of the Church and Power Ecclesiastical, is verified the* Jer. 1. 10. *Prophecy of* Jeremy. *Behold I have set thee this day over Kings and Kingdoms, &c.* Tell me, good Mr. *Waddesworth*, what is to pervert the Scriptures, if this be not, to apply to the power Ecclesiastical, that which is spoken of the Word and Calling Prophetical? Yet more, *The Earthly Power, if it swerve out of the way shall be judged of the power Spiritual*, but *if the Spiritual, that is lesser; of that which is superior to it.* But if the highest, it may be judged of God only, not of Man, 1 Cor. 2. 15. the Apostle witnessing the *Spiritual Man judgeth all things, but himself is judged of none.* We are come at length, as it were to the Fountains of *Nilus*, to the Original of the Infallibility of your *Judge*; and if he have here rightly interpreted S. *Paul*, we learn that no earthly power, no Magistrate is a *Spiritual* Man, unless he be one of the Popes *Spirituality*. For these be S. *Paul*'s spiritual Men, that judge all things. Yet this must receive limitation. For no Man may judge the Pope, *the Supreme Spiritual Man*, for of him it seems S. *Paul* meant it, his authority he saith is not humane, but *divine*, by the divine Mouth given to *Peter*, and his Successors, when the Lord said to him, *Quodcunque ligaveris.*

For conclusion, *Whosoever resists this power thus*

thus ordered of God, reſiſts the Ordinance of God, unleſs as Manichæus, *he feign two beginnings: which* (ſaith he) *we judge to be falſe and heretical, ſith by* Moſes *record, not in the beginnings, but in the beginning God created Heaven and Earth.* Who would not acknowledge the divine Authority and Infallibility of your Interpreter, both in confirming his purpoſe, and convincing hereſies from ſo high a beginning, as this firſt ſentence of Holy Writ? What reſts now, but after ſo many teſtimonies he inferr, *Furthermore, to be under the Biſhop of* Rome *we declare, ſay, define, and pronounce that to every humane creature it is altogether of neceſſity of ſalvation.* Thus ſaith your infallible Judge and Interpreter of Scripture, the center of your Conſcience, and foundation of your Faith, not as a private Doctor, but as Pope, in his own Law, intending to inform and bind the Church, and that in matters with him of the greateſt importance that may be, touching his own Authority, and, as he pretends, *abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, to all the Sons of* Adam. Rom. 13. 2. Gen. 1. 1.

I might heap up many more, but theſe may ſuffice for a ſample. You may (and ſo do by your ſelf, I beſeech you) obſerve theſe kind of Interpretations in other Points alſo, and in other the Decretals and Breves of Popes; which, as I hear, are lately come forth in great Volumes. You ſhall find many Myſteries in your Faith, that perhaps you know not of, as * *That you cannot pleaſe God becauſe you are married*: for ſo is that Rom. 8. 8. *Syricius Epiſt. 4. & Innocent. Ep. 2.*

place of the Apoſtle interpreted, *qui in carne vivunt, Deo placere non poſſunt.* That not only the *Wine* in the Chalice, but the *Water alſo is tranſubſtantiated firſt into Wine, then into Chriſts blood.* That it was † *not watry moiſture, but the true element of Water which iſſued out of Chriſts ſide.* You ſhall find * *confeſſion of ſins to the Prieſt*, proved by the Text, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore autem fit confeſſio ad ſalutem.* ‖ That the *good Ground, that received the Seed in the Goſpel*, is the Religion of the *Friers Minors.* * That this is that *pure and immaculate Religion with God and the Father, which deſcending from the Father of Lights, delivered, exemplariter & verbaliter, by the Son, to his Apoſtles, and then inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, into S.* Francis *and his Followers, contains in it ſelf the Teſtimony of the Trinity.* This is that which as S. *Paul* witneſſeth, *no Man muſt be troubleſome unto*, which *Chriſt* hath confirmed with the prints of his Paſſion. The Text is, * *de cætero nemo mihi moleſtus ſit, ego n. ſtigmata Domini Jeſu in corpore meo porto.* It is marvel, if S. *Paul* were not of the Order of S. *Francis.* That when Chriſt ſaid,† *Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum omnibus diebus, he meant it of remaining and being with them even by his bodily preſence.* S. *Auguſtine* upon the ſame Text denies this, and ſaith, that *according to the preſence of his Body he is aſcended into Heaven, and is not here.* That ‖ the *Father of the Child Chriſtned*, and his *Godfathers Wife may not marry*, becauſe, according to the Lords Word, the Husband and the Wife, *are made one fleſh by marriage.* That * *the number of Four, doth well agree to the degrees*

prohibited

† Joh. 19. 34. *C. Inter cunctas.*

* Rom. 10. 10.

‖ Matt. 13. 8.

* Jam. 1. 27.

* Gal. 6. 17

† Matth. 28. 20. Lo I am with you, &c. *Clem. 3. de Reliq. Tract. in Joh. 50.*

‖ *C. Martinus de cognat. ſpirit. 4.*

Mat. 19. 5. * *C. non debet de conſang.* 6 Cor. 7. 4.

prohibited in corporal marriage; of which the Apoſtle ſaith, *The Man hath not the power of his own body*, but the Woman; *nor the Woman power of her body but the Man*, becauſe there are four humours *in the body*, which conſiſt of the four Elements. For Concluſion, you ſhall find it by a commodious interpretation concluded, contrary to many Texts of Scripture, out of Scripture it ſelf, that * no *ſimple and unlearned Man preſume to reach to the ſubtlety of the Scripture*, becauſe, well it was enacted in the law of God, that *the Beaſt which ſhould touch the Mountain, ſhould be ſtoned.* For it is written, *Seek not things higher than thy ſelf.* For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *Be not more wiſe than it behoveth, but be wiſe to ſobriety.*

* *Cum ex. De hæreticis* 5. Heb. 12. 20 Exo. 19. 13 Eccluſ. 3. 22. Rom. 12. 3.

One thing more alſo you ſhall find, that now adays this *ſpiritual Man and ſole infallible Interpreter of Scripture*, ſeldom interprets Scripture, or uſes it in his *Decretals* and *Breves*, Nay the ſtile of his Court hath no manner of ſmack or ſavor of it. A long compaſs of a Sentence, intricate to underſtand, yea, even to remember to the end, full of ſwelling Words of Vanity, with I know not how many ampliations and alternatives, after the faſhion of Lawyers in Civil Courts, not of ſober Divines, much leſs of the Spirit of God in his Word. Some Man would perhaps think this proceeds from an affectation of greatneſs, and the deſire of retaining Authority, which ſeems to be embaſed by alledging reaſon, or Scripture, and interpreting Texts. For my part, I account it comes as much from neceſ-

ſity. For it is notorious, That neither the Popes themſelves, nor thoſe of the Court, the *Secretaries* and *Dataries*, which pen their *Bulls* and *Breves*, have any uſe or exerciſe in Holy Scripture, or ſoundneſs in the knowledge of Divinity, or skill in the Original Tongues, wherein Gods Word is written; all which are neceſſary to an able Interpreter. And therefore it is a wiſe reſervedneſs in them, not to intermeddle with that wherein they might eaſily fault; eſpecially in a learned Age, and wherein ſo many watchful Eyes are continually upon them. And to this very poverty and cauteloufneſs I do impute it, That the preſent Pope in his Breves about the *Oath of Allegiance*, uſeth not a Word of Scripture: But tells his Faction, that *they cannot without moſt evident and grievous injury of Gods honour take the Oath*, the tenour whereof he ſets down Word for Word; and that done adds, *Quæ cum ita ſint, &c. Which things* (ſaith he) *ſince they be ſo, it muſt needs be clear unto you out of the Words themſelves, that ſuch an Oath cannot be taken with the ſafety of the Catholick Faith, and of your Souls, ſith it containeth many things which are apparently contrary to Faith and ſalvation.* He inſtances in no one thing, brings neither Scripture nor Reaſon, but a *Quæ cum ita ſint*, without any premiſſes. Which looſe and ungrounded Proceeding, when as it is, occaſioned the *Arch-Prieſt* here, and many other of that ſide, to think theſe Letters forged, or gotten by ſurreption; he ſends another of the ſame tenor, with this further

Reaſon.

Reaſon. *Hæc autem eſt mora pura, integraque voluntas noſtra.* This is now to be more than *an Interpreter*, even to be *a Lord* over the Faith of his Followers, to make his *Will* a *Reaſon.* What would you have him do? to alledge a better he could not, a weak and unſufficient one he was aſhamed, he thought it beſt to reſolve the matter into his ſole Authority. Whereby he hath proved himſelf a fallible both *Judge and Interpreter*, yea a *falſe witneſs* againſt God and the Truth; commanding by the Apoſtle Chriſtian Men *to be ſubject, and to give every Man their dues, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*; and much more (if there be any difference) Allegiance to whom Allegiance.

CHAP. IV.

Of the ſtate of the Church of England, *and whether it may be reconciled with* Rome.

BUt of your Interpreters Infallibility enough. Your next doubt, *Whether the Church of* England *were of the true Church or no*, was reſolved with a *Paralogiſm*, partly by reaſon of equivocation, and diverſe acception of the terms, *The Church*, *and to err*, partly *by compoſition and diviſion* in the connexion of theſe by thoſe Verbs [*can* or *may*.] Let us examine the ſeveral parts of your *Syllogiſme*.

The Propoſition. *The true Church cannot err*, is confirmed by the *conſent of all*. Excuſe me, Sir, if I withhold my conſent, without ſome Declaration and Limitation. I ſay firſt, it muſt be declared whether you mean *the Catholick Church*, or a *true part of the Catholick Church*. For there is not the like reaſon of theſe to error. Againſt the Catholick Church, *Hell Gates ſhall not prevail*; againſt particular, *when Chriſt doth remove the Candleſtick out of his place*, they do. Witneſs the Churches of *Africk*, ſometimes moſt Catholick. And thus it ſeems you muſt take this term, ſince your doubt was, *Whether*

Matth. 16.
Rev. 2. 5.

the

the Church of England *be of the true Church or no.* Beſides, I muſt deſire to know, *what manner of Errors* you mean; whether *even the leaſt*, or only *deadly*, and ſuch as bar from ſalvation, which the Apoſtle calls *αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, hereſies of perdition*, 2 Pet. 2. 1. Take now your own choice; for if you ſpeak of *every errour*, the Propoſition is falſe, even of the *Catholick Church*, much more of any particular Church. Yea, I add further, not only of the Catholick Church *by denomination* from the greateſt part, or by *repreſentation*, as the Paſtors or Prelates thereof met in a *Council*, which is ſtill the *mixt* Church, but even that which *is Chriſts true body, whereof he is the Saviour, and which ſhall be with him for ever.* As for *deadly and damnable errors*, this true and properly called Church, both in the whole and every part of the mixt Church, is yet priviledged from them finally: For *it is kept by the power of God to ſalvation*, it is not *poſſible the Elect ſhould thus be ſeduced.* Truth it is, That by ſuch errors particular viſible Aſſemblies, univerſally and obſtinately defending them, become falſly called Churches, from which we are to ſeparate our ſelves. Example in the Synagogue, and in Churches of the Arians. 1 Pet. 1. 5. Mat. 24. 24.

Now let us ſee your Aſſumption. But *the Church of* England, *Head, and Members, King, Clergy, and People, yea, a whole Council of Proteſtants may err by your own grant.* I anſwer, The Church of *England*, that is the *Elect* in the Church of *England*, which only

ly *are truly called the Church*, can never deadly err. This no Proteſtant will grant ye. The *mixt* Church of *England*, Head, Members, King, Clergy, and the reſidue of the people, and a whole Council of Proteſtants, may err damnably, and therefore much more fall into leſſer errors. This they grant. And if they ſhall ſo err obſtinately, they ſhall deſervedly loſe the name of a *true Church*. But they deny they do thus err; yea they deny that they err *de facto*, at all.

What follows in Concluſion? *Ergo*, *No true Church*. This ſhortneſs in ſuppreſſing the Verb, would make a Man think you meant to cover the fault of your Diſcourſe. And indeed you might by that means eaſily beguile another, but I cannot be perſwaded you would willingly beguile your ſelf. Sure you were beguiled, if you meant it thus. *Ergo*, *it is no true Church*. See your Argument in the like: A faithful Witneſs cannot lye; But *Socrates* or *Ariſtides* may lye by his own grant. *Ergo*, no faithful Witneſs. He that ſtands upright cannot fall: But you Mr. *Waddeſworth* by your own grant may fall: *Ergo*, ſtand not upright. Perhaps your meaning was, *Ergo*, *it may become no true Church*, to wit, when it ſhall ſo err damnably. But then it follows not, *There is now no ſalvation in it, and therefore come out of it now*. When you ſhew that, I ſhall account you have done wiſely to go out of it. Shew that in any one Point, and take me with you. In the mean while, for my part, I

ſhall

ſhall ſooner truſt that Chapman that ſhall ſay to me, Lo here is a perfect Yard, I will meaſure as truly as I can, and when I have done, take the Yard and meaſure it your ſelf; than him that ſhall ſay, here is thus much, ye ſhall not need to meaſure it, but take it on my Word: Yea though one of his Apprentices ſhould ſtand by and ſay, he could not deceive me though he would; as *Benedictus a Benedictis* tells the preſent Pope, *Volens nolens errare non potes.*

Where you relate, *your endeavour to defend the Church of* England, *and tell of the Puritans rejecting thoſe Arguments you could uſe from the Authority of the Church, and of the ancient Doctors interpreting Scriptures againſt them, flying to their own arrogant Spirit:* I cannot excuſe them for the former, nor ſubſcribe to your accuſation in the latter. Perhaps you have met with ſome more fanatical *Browniſts* or *Anabaptiſts*, whom here you call *Puritans.* But theſe that are commonly ſo called, which differ from the Church of *England* about Church Government and Ceremonies only, give indeed too little to the Authority of Men, how holy, learned, or ancient ſoever. Which is their fault, and their great fault, eſpecially in matters of this nature; yet they fly not to their own Spirit as you charge them.

That which you add, *That you perceived the moſt Proteſtants did frame the like evaſions when you came to anſwer the Arguments againſt them on the other ſide*; When you ſhall ſhew this in particulars, I ſhall believe it. In the mean while,

while, I believe you thought ſo; for commonly mediocrities are aggravated with the hatred, and ſlandered with the names of both extreams. But in the queſtion between the Popiſh faction and us, you might eaſily have diſcerned why the Argument from *bare Authority*, is not of ſuch validity. For Ceremonies and matters of order may be ordered by wiſe Men, and are not the worſe, but the better if they be ancient, yea if they be common to us with *Rome*, which Puritans will by no means allow. In Doctrine, if holy Men, yea *if an Angel from Heaven* ſhall innovate any thing, we are not to admit it. Now the Controverſies between the *Romaniſts* and us, are moſt about Doctrine, and they exceed as much in extolling the authority of the Ancients in their private Opinions and incommodious and ſtrained ſpeeches, as the Puritans in depreſſing them. We hold the mean, and give as much to the Authority and Teſtimonies of the Fathers, as may ſtand with the truth of Holy Scriptures, and as themſelves defer to the writing of others, or require to be given to their own.

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metuens, turris etiam mea ſit cuſtos. On the top of this Tower, was this Repreſentation curiouſly and largely cut. An Altar, with two Columns, and their Ornaments, according to the Rules of Architecture. In the midſt for the Altar-piece was the Popes Picture, very lively portrayed to the Breaſt. Over his Head was the Word, *Vultu portendebat imperium.* Above on the top of the Front, in three compartiments his Arms thus. On the one ſide the ſpread Eagle alone, the Word, *Ipſe mihi fert tela pater.* On the other a Dragon, and by it, *Meliora ſervo.* In the midſt both together in one Scutcheon with the croſs Keys and triple Crown in the Creſt. On either ſide of theſe Columns were depending Crowns and Scepters, whereof ſix were on the right-Hand after the Chriſtian faſhion. The Imperial above, other underneath, and loweſt the *Corno of the Duke of* Venice, ſo they call a certain Cap the Prince uſeth to wear being of Gold Embroidery, and ſomewhat reſembling a Horn. There were alſo Turkiſh *Turbans*, and Diadems of divers faſhions, as many on the left ſide. By theſe on either ſide of the Columns, were two of the four parts of the World. *Europe* and *Africk*, on the one, *Aſia* and *America* on the other, in the Habit of Ladies, ſitting upon their proper Beaſts couchant, each offering unto him that was above the Altar of their Commodities, Corn, Fruits, Incenſe, *&c.* On the baſe of the Column on the Chriſtian and European ſide, was the Word, *Et erunt*

Reges

Reges nutritii tui. On the other, *Vultu in terram demiſſo pulverem pedum tuorum lingent*, Eſai. 49. Agreeable whereto there was made flying over their Heads two Angels, on each ſide one with theſe Sentences in their Hands. That over *Europe* and *Africk*: *Gens & Regnum quod non ſervierit illi, in Gladio & in Fame, & in peſte viſitabo ſuper gentem illam, ait Dominus*, Hier. 27. That over *Aſia* and *America*: *Et dedit ei Dominus poteſtatem & regnum, & omnes populi ipſi ſervient: poteſtas ejus poteſtas æterna quæ non auferetur, & Regnum ejus quod non corrumpetur*, Dan. 7. Now juſt underneath the Picture of the Pope, on the foreſide of the *Altar*, was this Inſcription, PAVLO V. VICE-DEO CHRISTIANÆ REIP. MONARCHÆ INVICTISSIMO ET PONTIFICI ÆOMNIPOTENTIÆ CONSERVATORI ACERRIMO. The Copies of theſe *Theſes* were ſent as Novels from *Rome*, and did the more amuſe Men at *Venice*, becauſe of the Controverſie that State had with the Pope a little before, and their ſeeing their Dukes *Corno* hanged up among his Trophies, under all other Princes Crowns. But moſt of all, the new Title, *Vice-Deo*, and the addition of *Omnipotency* gave matter of wonder. The next day it was noiſed about the City, that this was the Picture of *Antichriſt*; for that the Inſcription PAVLO V. VICE-DEO, contained exactly in the numeral Letters the number of the Beaſt in the Revelation 666. What anger and ſhame this was to the Popiſh Faction, I leave it to you to eſteem. But whom could they blame,

but

but themſelves, who had ſuffered ſo preſumptuous and ſhameleſs a flattery to come forth, with publick approbation, annexing alſo ſo blaſphemous an Inſcription, as unawares to them by the providence of God, ſhould ſo plainly characterize Antichriſt: But to heal up this matter again, not long after we had freſh news went about, That Antichriſt *was born in* Babylon, *had done many miracles, was coming toward Chriſtendome with an Army.* We had an Epiſtle ſtampt at *Venice, pretended to be written at* Rome, An. 1592. *by the* Rever. D. Valentinus Granarenſis, *touching the birth of* Antichriſt *his ſtock, progeny, Country, Habitation, Power, Marvels, Life, and Death, out of the Holy Scriptures, and Fathers, printed* Cum Privilegio. And as for the Title *Vice-Deus*, as if they would have it in deſpite of all Men: One *Benedictus à Benedictis* a Subject of the *Venetian* State, ſetting out a Book againſt Doctor *Whitakers* Poſition, *de Antichriſto*, at *Bologna* (for at *Venice* it was not ſuffered to be printed) revives it with advantage. He dedicates it thus, *Paulo Quinto Pontifici Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Oecumenico, ſummo totius Orbis Epiſcopo atque Monarchæ & ſupremo Vice-Deo.* Theſe Titles he heaps upon the Pope again, and again, and that you may judge of his Wit by one place in the concluſion, exhorting Dr. *Whitaker to repentance*; he tells him, That by his example, his King, *and with the ſame King* James *the Firſt, many* Engliſhmen *convertentur ad Dominum Deum, & ipſius loco ad Vice-Deum confugient.* And p. 135. he ſaith of

of *Gregory* the Great. *Totum mundum quaſi Monarcha ac Vice-Deus optimè & irreprehenſibiliter rexit*, &c. He might have learned of him, that his other Title *Oecumenicus Pontifex*, is the very *name of Antichriſt*, the *name of blaſphemy*, by which he doubts not to preſage, that *Antichriſt was near, and an Army of Prieſts ready to attend him.* In this, if ever in any thing, it ſeems your Judge was infallible.

It will be ſaid here, it is not in the Popes power what his followers will ſay of him, he ſtiles himſelf the Servant of Gods Servants. *If the Canoniſts will call him*, Our Lord God the Pope, *firſt, it may be denyed. Secondly, it may be laid to the over-ſight of the Writers or Printers. Thirdly, if it be ſhewed to be left ſtanding ſtill in the Gloſs of the Canon Law, by them that were appointed to over-ſee and correct it, what marvel if one word eſcaped them, through negligence, or wearineſs, or much buſineſs? And yet if they thought the ſenſe of the word not ſo uſual indeed in the ordinary talk of Chriſtians, but not differing from the cuſtom of Scripture was to be allowed to an ancient Writer, the matter deſerves not ſuch outcrys. But the Pope, ſuch is his modeſty, never uſurped this Title full of arrogancy, never heard it with patient ears.* To this, let it firſt be conſidered, that the Cenſors of ſuch things as come to the Preſs, are not to be imagined ſuch Babes, as not to know what will pleaſe or diſpleaſe his Holineſs. Eſpecially in writings dedicated to himſelf, a man may be ſure they will allow nothing the ſecond time, and after ſome exception and ſcandal taken at it, but what ſhall be juſtified. How much more in the Popes

Apologia pro Garneto, *c.* 5.

own Town of *Bologna*, and when his Chaplain could not be allowed to print it at home. But to let all theſe go; we may have a more ſenſible proof how the Pope taſtes theſe Titles. That which he rewards he approves: *Benedictus* was ſhortly after made for his pains *Biſhop of Caorli*. How worthily he deſerved it you ſhall judge by his book; which at my requeſt vouchſafe to read over, and if there be any merit, you ſhall ſure get great meed of patience in ſo doing. That you may not doubt of the Popes judgment concerning theſe Titles, you ſhall further know, that the matter being come to the knowledge of the Proteſtants in *France*, and *England*, made them talk and write of it broadly, namely, the *Lord of Pleſſis*, in his *Myſterium iniquitatis*, and the *Biſhop of Chicheſter* in his *Tortura Torti*. This gave occaſion to the Cardinal *Gieurè*, to relate in the *Officio Santo* at *Rome* of the ſcandal taken hereat, and to make a motion, *De moderandis titulis*. It was on foot ſundry months. At laſt the Pope revoking it to himſelf, blamed thoſe that had ſpoken againſt theſe Titles, and ſaid, *they were no whit greater than the authority of S.* Peter's *Succeſſor did bear*. To return thither whence I have a little digreſſed. In the queſtion whether *the Pope be the Antichriſt* or no, for my part, I deſpair of all reconciliation. For neither doth there appear any inclination at all in the Pope to reform any thing in Doctrine or Government, nay, he encroacheth daily more and more upon all degrees even among his own ſubjects, and reſolves to carry all before him at the breaſt, with

with *his Monarchy and infallibility*. On the other ſide, the Reformers partly emboldned with *ſucceſs*, partly enforced by *neceſſity*, chiefly tyed with band of *conſcience*, and *perſwaſion of truth*, are not like to retract what they have affirmed in this behalf, and whatſoever their differences be in other things, in this point they have a marvellous unity amongſt them. Thoſe in *France* having been moleſted *for calling the Pope Antichriſt*, have been occaſioned (as I have heard) ſome few years ſince to take it into their *Confeſſion*, thereby to juſtifie themſelves according to the *Edicts of Pacification* giving them liberty *to profeſs their Religion*. In *England* as you know it is no part of the Doctrine of our Church, yet a commonly received opinion. Howbeit this is ſo far from hindering, that the reformed Churches and thoſe which heretofore were, or at this preſent are under the Popes obedience be one Church, that is, all members of the Catholick; that the Proteſtants without this cannot make good the other. For Antichriſt *muſt ſit in the Temple of God*, and that is *in the Church*, as *Chryſoſtome* and *Theophylact* interpret it, and Gods people could not be commanded *to go out of* Babel, if he had none there.

CHAP. V.

Of the ſafeneſs to joyn to the Roman, *being confeſſed a true Church by her oppoſites.*

BUt you concluded hence, that *ſeeing many of the beſt learned Proteſtants did grant the Church of* Rome *to be a true Church, though faulty in ſome things; and contrarily not only the* Romaniſts, *but Puritans, Anabaptiſts, and Browniſts deny the Church of* England *to be ſo, therefore it would be more ſafe and ſecure to become a Roman Catholick*, &c. This Diſcourſe hath a pretty ſhew at the firſt bluſh, and perhaps was uſed to you ſince your coming into *Spain*, as it was to ſome there before. At my coming to *Venice* I fell upon certain Letters and Reports, ſet forth as it was told me by *F. Poſſevine*, and not unlike by his mindfulneſs, to take all occaſions to advance the credit of his Society. Amongſt them there is one ſaid to be a *true Relation of the manner how* M. Pickering Wotton *was converted to the Catholick Roman Faith*, indited as it is ſaid, and ſubſcribed by himſelf before his death. In which by a certain Father of the Company of Jeſus an *Engliſhman* by Nation, the like Diſcourſe was uſed, as it is ſaid,

to

to him: *That he ſhould conſider well, that he and other Proteſtants did not deny that the Catholicks might be ſaved in their Faith, whereas all the Catholicks that either lived at the preſent, or ever were, hold it as a moſt certain Article of Faith, That the Proteſtants and other Hereticks cannot be ſaved out of the Catholick Church; therefore if he ſhould become a Catholick, he ſhould enter into that way which was ſafe, by the conſent of both parts. This conſideration he ſaith mov'd him not much then. But after praying to God, as he was alſo adviſed by that Father, to direct him into the right way if he were out of it, ſuddenly he ſaw a certain Light very clearly before his Eyes in form of a Croſs. Whereupon incontinently there was offered unto him ſuch a heap of Reaſons and Arguments by which was ſhewed that the Catholick Faith is the only way of ſalvation, and that of the Proteſtants on the contrary moſt abſurd and abominable, that moſt evidently he was convinced, without any the leaſt doubt.* And *theſe reaſons which then offered themſelves to him, were for the moſt part ſuch as he did not remember that he had ever heard them in all his life. Thereupon with unſpeakable joy he called back the Father, told him what had happened, prayed him to hear his confeſſion, and he examining him upon all the Heads of the Catholick Religion, which he moſt firmly and entirely believed, heard his confeſſion,* &c. But this Narration deſerves little credit. Firſt creating Mr. *Wotton* for the greater glory of their triumph *a Baron*; unleſs the Fathers in *Spain*, or *Poſſevine* in *Italy* have a faculty to create Barons. Next it is a very improbable thing that Mr. *Wotton* dying of a *Calen-*

ture ſhould have ſo good a memory, as to indite ſo exact and artificial a Narration, with ſuch formality, and enforcements in fit places, as any Reader of underſtanding muſt needs perceive, came out of a diligent Forge, and needed more hammering and fileing than ſo. But that of all other is moſt *Legend-like*, that howſoever this motive of yours is uſed, yet it is not made the effectual inducement, but *a heap of reaſons in the twinkling of an Eye*, and cauſing him not only to believe in the groſs, but to be able to give account of all the Heads of the Catholick Religion (that is all the points of controverſie at this day, between the Romaniſts and the reformed Churches) *in a fit of* an *Ague*, in the *twinkling of an eye?* Excuſe me: This is beyond the *blind Beggar that recovered his ſight at S.* Albans, that could tell the names of all colours as ſoon as he ſaw them. What then? Was not Mr. *Wotton* reconciled? and ſaw he not a *light* in form of a *croſs*? Yes: And this your motive was uſed to him alſo, and perhaps moved him more than all the heap of Reaſons beſides. But ſhall I tell you here what I have heard from the mouth of one that was himſelf then in *Spain*, that both could know the truth of this matter, and had no reaſon to tell me a lye, ſith what he ſaid, came freely from himſelf, without fear, or hope, or almoſt enquiry? The Gentleman being ſick, and weak in his Brain, the Father that *Poſſevine* tells of, brought under his Gown a Picture, and upon a ſudden preſented it before him: This might be the light

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in form of a Croſs (perhaps a very Image of Chriſt crucified) which together with the lightneſs of his fancy, occaſioned that your Motive, though it ſelf alſo very light, might carry him: as a little weight is able to ſway much, where the Beam it ſelf is falſe. If this be true (as I take the living God to record, I feign nothing, but do relate what hath been told me) as on the one ſide I doubt not, but God in his mercy did interpret of the Gentlemans Religion, according to his right judgment and perſwaſion in his health, and not according to the erroneous apprehenſions of his fancy in his ſickneſs (which even in his beſt health was ever very ſtrong in his ſleep) as ſome that have converſed with him have told me: So on the other ſide, they ſhall bear their judgment whatſoever they were, that would with ſo cruel a craftineſs take advantage of his infirmity, and make his ſtory after a ſtale to draw on others. As for the *heap of Arguments to convince the Proteſtants Faith to be abſurd* (that muſt be by the way the Articles of the Creed) *Poſſevine*'s Catholick Hyperboles are well enough known in *Venice*, and he hath been there told to his Head, *That if in things paſt, whereof he might have been informed, he proves a moſt lying Hiſtorian, it might more eaſily fall out, that he ſhould prove a moſt falſe and ridiculous Prophet in things to come.*

Avvertimento al P. Ant. Poſſevino, p. 7. & 14.

And in truth he hath proved ſo hitherto Wherefore, I reckon theſe garniſhments of Mr. *Wotton*'s perverſion, to be like the reſt of his News touching the *Conqueſt of* Moſcovia

covia *by* Demetrius *that Impoſtor*, whom he boaſteth in a manner to have been the Scholer of his *Society*. Where he tells the World that the Army cryed out often: *God and the Prayers of our Fathers* (the Jeſuites) *have ſubdued the Hearts of our enemies, and inclined them under our noble Prince* Demetrius. *That* Demetrius *turning to the Prieſts of the company of Jeſus, was heard to ſay* [*Lo that which you foretold me, O Fathers, in the time of that ſorrowful flight of ours, is now come to paſs, to wit, that as the Lord God had afflicted me much, ſo on the contrary he would much comfort me, and that therefore I ſhould not doubt of a full victory.*] Theſe Words *Poſſevine* ſtamps in his former *Relation* in Capital Letters. But when this bold enterpriſe was overthrown, and this ſuborned fugitive ſlain, and ſhamefully dragged up and down the Streets of *Moſco*, then lo the reports were, *That a light was ſeen over his body in the night time*, &c. Let them that walk in darkneſs follow ſuch Lights as theſe be. We are no children of the Night, nor of darkneſs. Leaving therefore thoſe unheard of Arguments, which *Poſſevine* hath not only cunningly drawn a veil over, that we may not ſee them, but exempted by priviledge of a miracle that we may not try them, this which he hath ſhewed us, let us bring it a little to the clear day-light.

And even at the firſt view it is apparent, that this Argument is meerly foreign; not drawn from any thing, *à parte rei*, as what the true Church is, what it teacheth, or ſuch like, but from *opinion* and teſtimony. What

Men

Men ſay of that of *Rome*, and of the *reformed Churches*, &c. Now Opinions are no certain grounds of Truth, no not in natural and civil matters, much leſs in Religion. So this Argument at the moſt is but *Topical* and probable. Let us ſee the parts of it. And firſt that ground: *The teſtimony of our ſelves and of our contraries is much more ſufficient and certain than to juſtifie our ſelves alone.* Surely neither the one nor the other is ſufficient, or certain. It is true, that if other proof fail, and *we will follow conjectures*, he is in probability an honeſter Man, that others beſide himſelf ſay well of, than he that alone teſtifieth of himſelf. And yet according to truth, this latter may be a right honeſt Man, and dwell, as we ſay, by ill neighbours, or where he is not known, or requires not the teſtimony of other Men: Whereas the other being indeed a knave, is either cunning to conceal it, or hath ſuborned other like himſelf to ſay for him, or dwels by honeſt Men that judge and ſay the beſt. And in this very kind, our Saviour attributes ſo little to *teſtimony*, as he pronounces a woe to them *that all Men ſpeak well of.* Luk. 6.26. So in our caſe it is more probable, I grant, if there were no other Argument to clear it, but Opinion, and moſt Voices, that you have the true Church, and are in the way of ſalvation, than we, becauſe we give you a better teſtimony than you do us. But it is poſſible we are both deceived in our Opinions, each of other; we through too *much charity*, and you and others through *ignorance or malice.* Herein undoubtedly we have

have the advantage of you and the reſt, and do take that courſe which is more ſafe and ſure to avoid ſin, that if we do fail of the truth, yet we be deceived with the *error of Love*, which, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *hopeth all things, and is not puffed up.* We avoid at the leaſt that gulph of raſh judgment, which, me thinks, if the caſe be not too too clear, we ſhould all fear, *With what judgment you judge,* *you ſhall be judged. Thou that judgeſt another, condemneſt thy ſelf*

Matt. 7. 6.
Rom. 2. 1.

But that you may a little better conſider the weakneſs of this diſcourſe, if the teſtimony of our ſelves and our contraries were ſufficient and certain to make truth, and ever more ſafe and ſecure to follow that ſide which hath that teſtimony, it had been better to have become a Jewiſh Proſelyte, in the Apoſtles times than a Chriſtian: For the Chriſtians acknowledged the Jews to be the *people of God, heirs of the promiſes, and of Chriſt*, and ſtiled them *Brethren*, notwithſtanding their zeal to the Ceremonies, and Traditions of their Fathers, excuſed their ignorance, bare with them, laboured to give them content in all things. Whereas they to the contrary called thoſe that profeſſed Chriſt, *Heretick and Sectaries*, accurſed them, drew them out of their Synagogues, ſcourged them, caſt them in Priſon, compelled them to blaſpheme: As you do now Proteſtants to abjure, though in other cruelties I confeſs you go far beyond them. By like reaſon a *Pagan* in S. *Auguſtine*'s time, ſhould rather have made himſelf a Chriſtian among the *Donatiſts*, than

than with the Catholicks. For the Catholicks granted the Donatiſts *Baptiſm* to be true, accounted them *Brethren*. The Donatiſts to the contrary renounced their Brother-hood and Baptiſm both, re-baptized ſuch as fell to their ſide, uſed theſe forms to their Friends, *Save thy Soul, become a Chriſtian:* like to thoſe uſed by your Reconcilers at this day.

Aug. Epiſt. 48. & in Pſal. 39. De Baptiſmo l. 2. c. 7.

Laſtly conſider, if this ground of the teſtimony of our contraries for our part, and their lack of ours, for theirs, be ſure; you have juſtified the cauſe of the Proteſtants in the main Queſtion, Which is the better Religion. For whatſoever a Proteſtant holds, as of Faith, you cannot deny to be good and Catholick, nor any Chriſtian Man elſe. For he binds him to his Creed, to the Holy Scriptures, and goes no further: And in theſe he hath your teſtimony for him. But he denies many things which you believe, and accounts them foreign, yea repugnant to Faith, as *the Popes infallibility, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhipping of Images, invocation of Saints.* In all theſe you ſpeak only for your ſelves, in ſome of theſe you have not us only, but all other Chriſtians your oppoſites, to ſay nothing of the Jews and Turks, whom I might as well chock you withal, as you do the Proteſtants with Anabaptiſts. So by this reaſon our Profeſſion is more ſafe and ſecure, and queſtionleſs is more *Catholick* than yours. Neither have we in this diſcourſe the *Argument* only as you ſee very appliable and favourable to us, but (which I would entreat you by the way to obſerve)

obſerve) the *concluſion* it ſelf often granted by moderate and ſober Men of your own ſide, *viz.* That our courſe is in ſundry things more ſafe than yours. As in making no Image of God. In truſting only in the merits of Chriſt. In worſhipping none but the Trinity. In directing our Prayers to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt alone. In allowing Miniſters to marry. In diverſe other Points alſo many of your ſide ſay the ſame with the Proteſtants, and defend us from the imputations which others of you lay upon us, as is ſhewed in the *Catholick Apology*, by the *reverend Biſhop of* Cheſter.

Abulenſis, Bellarmine, Faber, Erasmus, Caſſander, Hofmeiſter, Æneas Sylvius.

This to the propoſition. Let us come to the Aſſumption, where you mince too much the Proteſtants Opinion touching the Church of *Rome*, when you make them ſay, *It is peradventure faulty in ſome things:* Nay without peradventure, they ſay, It is corrupt in Doctrine, ſuperſtitious and Idolatrous in Religion, tyrannical in government, defiled in manners, from the crown of the Head to the ſoal of the Foot no ſoundneſs in it, as the Prophet ſaith of another like it; yet the vital parts not periſhed, ready to dye, yet not dead. *A true Church though neither the Catholick Church, nor yet a ſound member of the ſame.* That alſo is falſe in the aſſumption, that *the Puritans deny the Church of* England *to be a true Church.* Unleſs the Puritans and Browniſts be with you all one, which you have made diverſe Sects above, and then are you to blame as to multiply names (whereof I have told you) before, ſo now again to confound them.

Isai 1. 6.
D. Raynolds Theſ. 5.

What

What is now the Concluſion? *It would be more ſafe and ſecure to become a Roman Catholick.* But the Propoſition will not infer thus much ſimply, but only in this reſpect. For Topical arguments (as you know) hold only *cæteris paribus.* We muſt then inquire if there be no other intrinſical arguments by which it may be diſcerned, whether cauſe be the better, whether pretence to the Church and Truth, more juſt, more evident. Whether it may be warranted to return to *Babel*, becauſe God hath ſome people there, when as he commands thoſe that are there to come out of it. How ſafe it may be willingly to joyn with that part of the Church, which is more corrupt in Doctrine and Manners, when we may continue with that which is reformed. Theſe points were to have been ſcanned, ere you concluded and executed as you did.

And ſuch Arguments there want not. Chriſt our Lord hath given us amongſt others, two infallible Notes to know his Church. *My Sheep*, ſaith he, *hear my Voice*: And again, *By this ſhall all Men know that you are my Diſciples, if you love one another.* What ſhall we ſtand upon conjectural Arguments from that which men ſay? We are partial to our ſelves, malignant to our oppoſites. Let Chriſt be heard who be his, who not. And for *the hearing of his Voice*, O that it might be the iſſue! But I ſee you decline it, Therefore I leave it alſo for the preſent. That other is that which now I ſtand upon: *the Badge of Chriſts Sheep.* Not a likelihood, but

Joh. 10. 27. c. 13. 35.

but a certain *token*, whereby *every Man* may know them. *By this*, ſaith he, *ſhall all Men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye have charity one towards another.* Thanks be to God: This mark of our Saviour is in us, which you with our Schiſmaticks, and other enemies want. As *Solomon* found the true Mother by her natural affection, that choſe rather to yield to her adverſaries plea, claiming her Child, than endure it ſhould be cut in pieces; ſo may it ſoon be found at this day, whether is the right Mother. Ours that ſaith, *give her the living Child, and kill him not*; or yours, that if ſhe may not have it, is content it be killed, rather than want of her will. *Alas*, ſaith ours, even of thoſe that leave her, *theſe be my Children, I have born them to Chriſt in Baptiſm, I have nouriſhed them as I could with mine own Breaſts his Teſtaments. I would have brought them up to Mans eſtate, as their free Birth and Parentage deſerves. Whether it be their lightneſs or diſcontent, or her enticing words and gay ſhews they leave me, they have found a better Mother. Let them live yet, though in bondage. I ſhall have patience; I permit the care of them to their Father; I beſeech him to keep them that they do none evil; if they make their peace with him, I am ſatisfied, they have not hurt me at all. Nay but,* ſaith yours, *I ſit alone as Queen and Miſtreſs of Chriſts Family; he that hath not me for his Mother, cannot have God for his Father. Mine therefore are theſe, either born or adopted: And if they will not be mine, they ſhall be none.* So without expecting Chriſts Sentence, ſhe cuts

Rev. 18. 7.

in

in pieces with the Temporal Sword, hangs, burns, draws thoſe that ſhe perceives inclined to leave her, or have left her already. So ſhe kills with the Spiritual Sword, thoſe that ſubject not to her, yea thouſands of Souls that not only have no means ſo to do, but many which never ſo much as have heard whether there be a Pope of *Rome* or no. Let our *Solomon* be Judge between them: Yea, judge you (Mr. *Waddeſworth*) more ſeriouſly and maturely, not by gueſſes, but by the very mark of Chriſt, which wanting your ſelves, you have unawares diſcovered in us, judge I ſay without paſſion, and partiality, according to Chriſts Word; which is his Flock, which is his Church.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Fraud and Corruption in alledging Councils, Fathers and Doctors.

YOur next Motive was, *That in examining the Queſtions, eſpecially about the Church, where you laboured to peruſe the Original Quotations and Texts of the Councils, Fathers and Doctors, you found,* as you ſay, *much fraud committed by the Proteſtants.* This imputation of *Fraud* is very uſual and common to both ſides; and verily I believe ſome on both ſides are faulty. For whether out of humane infirmity, miſtaking the meaning of Authors, or ſlips of memory, truſt of other Mens Quotations, who tye not themſelves to the Words, but give the ſenſe they conceive; how eaſily may teſtimonies be alledged clean beſides the Authors minds? He that hath ſtrongly conceited any thing, findeth it in all that ever he readeth, or falleth upon. Too much heat in contention, and deſire of Victory, blindeth the Judgment, and maketh a Man heedleſly lay hold upon any thing, that he thinks may ſerve his turn. As we ſee ſometimes in the Writings of the Fathers, which had to deal with ancient Hereticks, alledging the Scriptures themſelves beſides the purpoſe. Sometimes haſt and deſire of

of contracting makes one cut off ſome words, and explain and preſs thoſe that make for him; and perhaps leave out ſomething material: Preſently the other ſide cries out *clipping, forgery, falſification*, and what not? But although all this may be called *fraud* in reſpect of the Reader, who is by this means deceived in his Evidence, and therefore if he be not aware may pronounce amiſs, yet is it nothing to that kind, when *with an evil Conſcience and of ſet purpoſe Falſhood is ſet forth, and Truth out-faced.* Wherein I cannot tell what you have found. I could have deſired, and do yet if your leiſure may ſerve, you would ſhew the particulars. I do profeſs here to you, that I have ſeen and even felt with my Fingers ſuch dealing in the Romiſh Faction, as I cannot reſolve whether I ſhould account them more ſhameful Slanderers, and falſe Accuſers of others, of fraudulent handling; or bold and ſhameleſs in the practiſing of it themſelves. When the Lord of *Pleſſis* his book of the Sacrament came out, how was it calumniated in this kind, *with falſification? Du Puy* in a publick Chartel offered, that of 306 paſſages in the Preface, he would ſhew as clear as the Sun at noon day, 283 were falſified, corrupted, and mangled, and the reſt of no importance. The Biſhop of *Eureux*, after Cardinal, undertook to ſhew in the Book it ſelf five hundred *enormous falſities by tale, and without hyperbole.* The matter was brought to a tryal before the King of *France*, and nine places examined of this number. And,

as was before-hand promiſed the *Popes Nuncio, the buſineſs ſhould be ſo carried that the advantage ſhould remain on the part of the Church of* Rome, *and the Pope receive contentment, and* in theſe very Words, *The lye ſhould reſt with the Hereticks. Morney* was born down The Kings Letters to the Duke of *Eſpernon* of this Victory, were blown over *France*, ſent to *Rome*, printed with a Diſcourſe thereabout, ſet forth at *Antwerp*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, with ſome alteration and Turkeſing by *F. Parſons*. Wherein he ſaith, A French Jeſuit, *Fronto Ducæus*, diſcovered in it at laſt *a thouſand falſhoods for his part.* He accuſed Biſhop *Jewel*, and Mr. *Fox*, of the like crime; he ſaith that in two only leaves of his Book, a certain learned Scholar did diſcover *thirty wilful and voluntary corruptions and falſifications* that cannot be excuſed, and himſelf beſides theſe thirty, noted ſo many other plain falſhoods and manifeſt wilful lies, as might well double the former number. And by Arithmetick he multiplies this Number with the Number of the Leaves, the number he ſaith will riſe to thirty thouſand, by which *John Fox* his Book will as much exceed *John Sleidans* Story in number of lyes (in which were found only eleven thouſand) as it doth in bulk and bigneſs. This manner of writing of theſe Men, brings to my mind that which Sir *Thomas More* writes of *Tyndals New Teſtament*, wherein he ſaith, *Were founden and noted wrong and falſely tranſlated above a thouſand*

Dialog. l. 3. c. 8.

thouſand Texts by tale. The Language is like, and the cauſe is the ſame. Men were loth theſe Books ſhould be read. The ſubſtance of them was ſuch as could not be controlled; The next remedy was to foreſtal the Readers minds with a prejudice of falſification, that ſo they might not regard them, but caſt them out of their Hands of their own accord. The Vulgar ſort would be brought out of conceit at the firſt hearing, with vehement accuſation. Even wiſe Men would ſuppoſe, though there ſhould not be any thing near ſo many wilful faults, yet ſurely there muſt needs be a very great number, and that could not happen but with a very bad meaning; this admitted, who would vouchſafe them the reading? And in truth among thoſe that favour the reformed part, I have met with ſome that out of this buz of falſification in the Lord of *Pleſſis* Book, cared not for reading it; whereby may be thought in what account it ſhould be with all thoſe who eſteem all *F. Parſons* Libels to be Oracles. But ſhortly: Sith neither the Cardinal *Perone*, nor *F. Parſons* have had the means, or will, to decypher thoſe hundreds and thouſands of falſifications in *Sleidan*, Biſhop *Jewel*, Mr. *Fox*, or *Pleſſis*, in theſe ſo many years, as have run ſince they wrote; and as for the laſt, he hath ſet forth the Book again, with all the Authorities at large in the Margent, in the Authors own Words, and hath anſwered all thoſe that bayed at it,

till they are ſilent: what remains but that we count this *multiplying* of *F. Parſons*, may be joyned with *Æquivocation*, to make up the art of *Falſhood*; wherein he and his Faction may juſtly claim to be the worthieſt Profeſſors in the World. But without any *multiplication* or other *Arithmetick*, in the fifth page of that Relation of his in the ſeven firſt Lines are four notorious, I will not ſay, *lyes*, or *falſifications*, but falſhoods by tale. The Firſt: *That the tryal being begun upon the firſt place, that was found falſe.* The French Diſcourſe printed at *Antwerp*, *Cum privilegio*, and approbation of the Viſitor of Books, ſaith: *And as to the ſaid firſt Article, nothing was judged thereabout by the ſaid Commiſſioners, nor pronounced by my ſaid Lord the Chancellor, and the King ſaid that it ſhould be remitted to another time to deliberate thereabout.* The Second: *He* (that is *Pleſſis*) *would have paſſed to the ſecond, but the Biſhop refuſed ſo to do, except the Miniſters and Proteſtants there preſent would firſt ſubſcribe and teſtifie that this firſt place was falſified.* He ſaid in the page before, that *Pleſſis appeared at laſt with ſome four or five Miniſters on his ſide.* There were no Miniſters appeared with him on his ſide. No Proteſtants, no creature did ſubſcribe, or was required ſo to do. The third: *Which at length they did, viz.* ſubſcribe, this place was falſified. An utter untruth. Whereof there is not a Word in the ſaid printed Narration. The fourth: *As well in this as in all the reſt.* There was no ſubſcription, as I ſaid,

at

at all. The Commiſſioners were all of the Roman profeſſion, ſaving *Caſaubon*; and he no Miniſter. They never pronounced, much leſs ſubſcribed that any of thoſe places examined were *falſified.* Of the firſt place of *Scotus* they pronounced nothing. Of the ſecond, of *Durand, That the oppoſition of* Durand *was alledged for the reſolution.* And this they would have remitted alſo as the former to another time, ſave that the Biſhop inſiſted, ſaying, *it was in vain to diſpute if they would not judge*; Addreſſing his Speech divers times to the King, to the intent he ſhould ſignifie his pleaſure to the Commiſſioners; and then his Majeſty drawing near to them, they gave their Opinions upon that Article as before. This was that which *F. Parſons* ſtumbled at when he wrote, *The Miniſters and Proteſtants there preſent ſubſcribed and teſtified, that it was falſified, and ſo all the reſt.* For being overjoyed with this News which he did not well underſtand (to think the charitableſt of him) he thought the Commiſſioners had been part at leaſt Proteſtants, and Miniſters: And had ſubſcribed, whereas they pronounced their Sentence *vivâ voce*, by the Mouth of the Chancellor, never uſing the term *falſification*; yea in ſome of the reſt they acquitted the Lord of *Pleſſis*, as in *the paſſage of P. Crinitus*, though they ſaid *Crinitus* was deceived. In that of *Bernard, that it had been good to diſtinguiſh the two paſſages of S.* Bernard *out of the ſame Book with an* &c cætera. Not to ſtand now upon that, that in the reſt of

the places he hath a reaſonable and juſt defence with indifferent Men, for the omiſſions he was charged with in *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, *Bernard*, and *Theodoret*: And in that of *Cyril*, the King himſelf ſaid aloud, tha *both ſides had reaſon.* But *F. Parſons* not having, as it appears, received perfect information of the particularities of this affair, was ſo haſty to write according to the partial intelligence he received at *Rome*, that he faults himſelf in the ſame kind, that he imputes to another. And if he ſhould meet with ſome ſevere Adverſary, that would multiply his falſhoods by his leaves and lines, as he dealeth with Mr. *Fox*, and then extend by proportion his Pamphlet to the bigneſs of Mr *Fox* his *Book of Martyrs*, he would find, that he provides very ill for himſelf that is too rigorous and cenſorious to other Men.

But I leave him, and come to the fidelity of the Popiſh Faction, whereof I ſhall deſire you to take a taſte in one of the queſtions which you name about the Church, even that which is indeed *cardo negotii*, as you ſay, *the controverſie of the Popes authority.* For the eſtabliſhing whereof: Firſt, *the Epiſtles of the ancient Biſhops of* Rome, *for the ſpace of about three hundred years after Chriſt are counterfeited.* The Barbarous not *Latine* but lead of the ſtile, and the likeneſs of them all one to another, the deep ſilence of Antiquity concerning them; the Scriptures alledged after *Hierom's* tranſlation, do convince them of Falſhood, and by whoſe

whoſe practice and procurement we cannot doubt, if we ask but as *Caſſius* was wont, *cui bono?* For at every bout the Authority of the Pope, and priviledges of the *Roman* See are extolled and magnified.

Next, the *Donation of Conſtantine* is a ſenſeleſs forgery; and ſo blazed by ſome of the learnedeſt of the *Roman* Church. Read it adviſedly, either in *Gratian*, or in the Decrees of *Sylveſter*, with the Confeſſion, and Legend of *Conſtantines* baptiſm, and ſay out of your own judgment if ever any thing can be more fraudulent, more ſottiſh. And becauſe I have mentioned *Gratian*, his whole compilation is full of falſification, and corruption of Antiquity: take an example or two in the matter we have in hand. The *Milevitane*, and after the *African* Councils under pain of excommunication prohibit *Appeals beyond the Seas.* Which Canons were made purpoſely to meet with the uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome*, of which I have ſpoken ſomewhat before. Now in the citing this Canon, *Gratian* adds this goodly explication; *niſi forte Romanam ſedem appellaverint*; thus excepting that abuſe which theſe Councils directly ſought to prohibite. Again, S. *Auguſtine* to inform a Chriſtian man what Scriptures he ſhould hold for Canonical, bids *him follow the Authority of the greater part of the Catholick Church, amongſt which are thoſe, quæ Apoſtolicas ſedes habere, & Epiſtolas accipere meruerunt, which had the honour to have the Apoſtles ſit in them, and to receive*

Diſt. 96. c. Conſtantinus.

Concil. Milev. c. 22.

Concil. Afric. c. 12.

c. placuit. qu. 9. 6.

De Doctrina. Chr. l. 2.

Epiſtles from them. Gratian fits it thus, *inter quas* (Scripturas) *ſane illæ ſunt quas Apoſtolica ſedes habere, & ab ea alii meruerunt accipere Epiſtolas :* And accordingly, the title of that Canon is; *Inter Canonicas, The Decretal Epiſtles are numbred amongſt the Canonical Scriptures.* True it is, that in the end of the next Canon, *Gratian* adds a good limitation, and worth the remembring, that this muſt be underſtood of *ſuch Decrees, in which there is nothing found contrary to the Decrees of the Fathers foregoing, nor the Precepts of the Goſpel.* Belike even in *Gratian*'s time it was not holden impoſſible, That in the Sanctions and Decretals of Popes, ſomething might be decreed contrary to the Goſpel, which may be added to your Judges *Infallibility*, which hath been touched before.

But theſe be old tricks of the Champions of the Papacy. At this day perhaps it is better: Yes, and that ſhall ye underſtand by the Words of the Children of the Church of *Rome* themſelves, the *Venetians.* But firſt ye are to know, that among certain Propoſitions ſet forth in defence of that State, there was one, the fourth in number of eight, *That the Authority promiſed by our Saviour Chriſt to S.* Peter *under the metaphor of the Keyes is meerly Spiritual.* For confirmation whereof after other proof was ſaid, That *the Authority of the higheſt Biſhop is over Sin and over Souls only; according to the words of that Prayer of the Church about S.* Peter — *qui B. Petro animas*

ligandi

ligandi atque ſolvendi Pontificium tradidiſti. Cardinal *Bellarmine* undertook to anſwer theſe Propoſitions, and coming to this place he ſaith; *That peradventure Gods providence to take away ſuch deceipts, whereby the Author of theſe Propoſitions would deceive the ſimple, with the words of the holy Church miſunderſtood, inſpired into the Reformers of the Breviary that they ſhould take out of that Prayer the word* (animas) *as anciently it was not there, nor ought to be; becauſe that Prayer was formed out of the words of the Goſpel, Quodcunque ligaveris, & quodcunque ſolveris.* Now mark the Rejoinder that is made to him by *Johannes Marſilius*, who numbering up his errors in the defence of every Propoſition, roundly tells him? *Erra XIV. perche dice*, &c. He errs in the fourteenth place, for that he ſaith, *That thoſe which have taken out of the Breviary the word* (animas) *were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt. I know not whether the Holy Ghoſt be the Author of Diſcord. This I know well, that one of his Gifts and of his Fruits is Peace. Thoſe which made that Prayer had this intention, to explain the Words* Quodcunque ligaveris, *with the Word* (animas) *by that Text which explaineth them*, quorum remiſeritis peccata; *ſins being in the Soul and not in the body, leſt any ſhould believe that the Pope were* Dominus in temporalibus & ſpiritualibus, *of Goods, of Bodies, and of Souls, and that he might looſe and bind every thing, as it ſeems the L. Cardinal believeth.* And they explained them with the Word *animas*, by which

which explication a remedy is put unto all thoſe diſcords which may ariſe between the Pope and Princes *de meo & tuo. Wheras thoſe which have lately taken it away out of the Breviary, have anew ſtirred up occaſion of diſcords and contentions. Beſides that it is a thing known of all Men, that in the Books of the Councils, of the Canons, of other Doctors, in a word, even in the very Breviaries and Miſſals there have been and are taken away thoſe things which are in favour of Princes of the Laity, to ſee if at length there might be eſtabliſhed the opinion* de illimitata Poteſtate Pontificis in temporalibus. *So as he that compares together the Books printed in the year* 30. *in* 50. *and thoſe at this day, as well of the Councils as others, evidently perceives the vintage, that marvail it is, that we* poſt vindemiam, *have found ſome few Cluſters for the defence of our gracious Prince. This is a means if it go on further, to make all writings to loſe their credit, and to ruine the Church of God. Be it ſpoken by the occaſion that the Lord Cardinal hath given me thereof, and for charities ſake, and for the deſire that theſe writings be no more touched; which be alſo ſaid with all humility and reverence.*

He errs in the fifteenth place, for that he ſaith that in the ancient Breviaries there was not the word animas. *And I have ſeen Breviaries written with pen above* 200 *years ago, and printed above an hundred; in them is the word* animas, *and if it were not, yet ought it to be put in, to take away the occaſions of diſcords.*

Thus

Thus he there; As for the Prayer *corrected*, or corrupted rather; if you look the old Breviaries, yea even that ſet forth by *Pius* the Fifth, printed by *Plantine*, with the Priviledge of the Pope, and his Catholick Majeſty, *Anno* 77. upon the nine and twentieth of *June*, ye ſhall find it to run thus. *Deus qui B. Petro Apoſtolo tuo collatis clavibus regni Cœleſtis animas ligandi atque ſolvendi Pontificiam tradidiſti, concede ut interceſſionis ejus auxilio peccatorum noſtrorum nexibus liberemur. Per Dominum—.* Now in the late correction, *Animas* is left out, and we underſtand the Reaſon. *Ex decret. 8. Concil. Trid.*

In the end of the ſame Book there is an Advertiſement to the Reader, the beginning whereof I will not ſtick to ſet down *verbatim*; it is this. *Becauſe in this Defence I have often ſaid, that Authors are made to recant, and that out of their Books many things are taken away ſincerely ſaid in favour of the power of Temporal Princes, to eſtabliſh by theſe means the Opinion,* De ſuprema authoritate Papæ in temporalibus; *I have thought good to adviſe the Reader, that the quotations by me brought, are taken,* ad verbum, *out of thoſe Books which are incorrupt, and contain the opinion of the Authors ſincerely. And that the more ancient the Copies be, and further from theſe our times, ſo much the better they be. And in particular I deſire that he be advertiſed, that the Cap.* Novit de judiciis, *printed in* Rome *the year* 1575. *by* Joſeph de Angelis, *with licence of Superiours,*

riours, is the text which was followed by the Author of the eight Poſitions, and by me; which contains ſincerely the opinion of Navarrus, *and of the* Pariſians. *Which in the Books printed ſince, is changed in ſuch manner as it is no more the ſame, but is become the contrary, to wit that of* Cajetane, *&c.*

Tell me, good Mr. *Waddeſworth*, in the ſight of God, what is fraud, if this be not. And thus not only the Authors of this Age any way inclining to reformation, as *Eraſmus*, *Rhenanus*, *Caſſander*, *Ferus*; but, *Vives*, *Faber*, *Cajetane*, *Pol. Virgil*, *Guicciardine*, *Petrarch*, *Dante*, yea Authors of ſix or ſeven hundred years old, are ſet to School to learn the *Roman* Language, and agree with the *Trent* Faith. For it is not the Authority and *Monarchy* of the Pope alone that is ſought, though that be *Summa ſummarum*, whereunto all comes at laſt, but no voyce muſt be heard diſſenting from that which he teaches. Therefore it is, that *Bertramus Presbyter* is appointed by your *Spaniſh Index* printed at *Madrid*, to be wholly aboliſhed. The former had catechized him to ſay inſtead of *viſibiliter*, *inviſibiliter*, with many other pretty explications, as where he ſaith, the Elements in the Lords Supper, *Secundum creaturarum ſubſtantiam, quod prius fuerant, ante conſecrationem hoc & poſt conſiſtunt*, the explication is, *ſecundum externas ſpecies Sacramenti*. But the ſureſt way was to take him clean away: And ſo indeed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* he is, *and that purpoſely*, as

as *Marguerinus de la Bigne* confeſſeth in his Preface.

The Ancient Fathers are perhaps free. For the Council of *Trent* appointed, that *in the writings of the ancient Catholicks nothing ſhould be changed, ſave whereby the fraud of Hereticks, a manifeſt error is crept in.* But who ſhall be the Judge of that? the Inquiſitors and Cenſors themſelves. For my part, I cannot ſay that I have ſpent many hours in the tryal of this point, nor have I had ancient Copies thereto requiſite. But I will intreat you to conſider with me one example, or rather two or three in one Father, and in the matter that I named, whereby you may gueſs at the reſt. In S. *Cyprian*'s Works imprinted at *Rome*, by *P. Manutius*, *ſent for to* Venice *by* Pius *the Fourth, to ſet forth the Fathers, as himſelf ſaith, moſt perfectly cleanſed from all ſpots*, the Epiſtle of *Firmilianus Biſhop of Cæſarea*, beginning, *Accepimus per Rogatianum*, is wholly left out; and *Pamelius* thinks purpoſely, and adds, *perhaps it had been more wiſdom it had been never ſet out at all.* S *Cyprian* was not of that mind, who tranſlated it into Latin, as the ſtile it ſelf witneſſes, and *Pamelius* alſo is enforced to confeſs. The matter is, it too quick and vehement againſt *Stephanus* Biſhop of *Rome*. He ſaith *he is moved with juſt indignation, at the manifeſt folly of* Stephanus, *that boaſting ſo much of the place of his Biſhoprick, and that he hath the ſucceſſion of* Peter, *upon whom the foundations of the Church were ſet, brings in many other*

Rocks,

Rocks, &c. *He ſaith he hath ſtirred up contentions and diſcords throughout the Churches of the whole World. Bids him not deceive himſelf, he hath made himſelf a Schiſmatick, by ſeparating himſelf from the Communion of the Eccleſiaſtical Unity, for while he thinks he can ſeparate all from his Communion, he hath ſeparated himſelf only from all. He taxes him for calling S.* Cyprian *a falſe Chriſt, a falſe Apoſtle, and a deceitful workman, which being privy to himſelf that theſe were his own due, preventingly he objected to another!* No marvel if this gear could not paſs the Preſs at *Rome*.

In S. *Cyprians* Epiſtle, *De Unitate Eccleſiæ*, theſe Words, *& Primatus Petro datur*, &c. and after, *Unam Cathedram conſtituit*: and again, *Et Cathedra una*, are foiſted into the Text in that *Roman* edition. In that of *Pamelius* alſo beſides theſe, another clauſe is added, forſooth, out of *Gratian*, and a Copy of the *Cambron* Abby [*Qui Cathedram Petri ſuper quam fundata eſt Eccleſia deſerit.*] Theſe patches being all left out, the ſenſe is nevertheleſs compleat and perfect: And for the laſt, which ſpeaks moſt for the Popes Chair, the Superviſors themſelves of the Canon Law, by the commandment of *Gregory* the Thirteenth, acknowledge, that in eight Copies of *Cyprian* entire, in the *Vaticane* Library this Sentence is not found: But beſides theſe there is one wherein his *opuſcula* alone are contained, and another at S. *Saviours* in *Bologna*, in which it is found. But what account

count they make of it appears by this, that ſupplying the whole ſentence in another place of *Gratian*, they leave it out. Wherein as their Conſcience is to be commended, and *Manutius* his modeſty, or theirs who ſurveyed that Edition, that would not follow one Copy againſt eight; ſo is *Pamelius*'s boldneſs to be corrected, that out of one, and that not fully agreeing with *Gratian*, neither ſhames not (as himſelf ſayes, *veriti non ſumus*) to farce in this reading into the Text, againſt all the reſt Printed and Manuſcript, which he uſed above twenty in number, as he ſets them down in a Catalogue in the beginning of his Edition. It is now little more than two hundred years ago, that Frier *Thomas* of *Walden* wrote againſt *Witcleff*. He in the ſecond Book of his firſt Tome, the firſt Article, and ſecond Chapter, cites this very place of *Cyprian*, and cites it to fortifie *Witcleff*'s aſſertion of his own mind. For having recited *Witcleff*'s Words, he concludes them thus; *Hæc ibi*, and then proceeds: *Addamus & nos quod Cyprianus dicit, omnes Apoſtolos pares fuiſſe & poteſtate & honore. Addamus quod Hieronymus dicit, ſuper omnes Apoſtolos ex æquo fortitudo ſolidatur Eccleſiæ*, &c. Yet neither in that Chapter, nor in that whole diſcourſe doth he once mention theſe Words, now conveyed into *Cyprian*, nor any where elſe that I can find in all his Work, though he cite this Tractate often under the name of *Liber contra Hæreticos & Schiſmaticos*. How fit had

it

it been to anſwer the objection out of *Cyprian* by *Cyprian*, if he had not found that *Gratian* after his manner had been too bold or negligent in this paſſage. The ſame Author in his third Tome *De Sacramentalibus*, Doct. 10. cites a long place out of this ſame Treatiſe beginning at thoſe words. *An eſſe ſibi cum Chriſto videtur qui adverſum Sacerdotem Chriſti facit*, &c. Again, Cap. 81. two places; one immediately before the Sentences charged with thoſe former words, another after. The one beginning, *Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico quia tu es Petrus*, &c. The other, *Unitatem tenere firmiter & vendicare debemus*, &c. Certainly unleſs *Waldenſis* meant by faint-pleading to betray the cauſe he undertook, he would never have omitted ſo pregnant paſſages as theſe be, for *Peters* Primacy, and the Popes Chair, had they been extant in *Cyprian*'s Work when he wrote. But we cannot doubt of his good affection to the See of *Rome*, either for his orders ſake, or his dedicating that Work to Pope *Martine* the Fifth, or his approbation of the two firſt Tomes, which he ſaith, *he cauſed to be ſeen and examined, per ſollennes viros*, and teſtifies of to be commended of all, encouraging him to write the Third. It remains therefore that *Cyprian* hath received this garniſhment ſince *Walden*'s time. And here with this occaſion of his ſilence about thoſe things which are thruſt into *Cyprian*, I will, though beſides my purpoſe, uſe his Teſtimony about a certain ſentence of *the Author of the imperfect work upon* Matthew,

thew, aſcribed to Saint *Chryſoſtome*, which the Romiſh faction will needs race out. It is in the eleventh Homily, about the middle. The words are theſe, *Si enim vaſa ſanctificata ad privatos uſus transferre peccatum eſt & periculum, ſicut docet Balthaſar qui bibens in calicibus ſacris, de regno depoſitus eſt & de vita. Si ergo hæc vaſa ad privatos uſus transferre ſic periculum eſt* [*in quibus non eſt verum corpus Chriſti, ſed myſterium corporis ejus continetur*] *quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri, quæ ſibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in iis quæ vult.* In this ſentence the words that I have encloſed from the reſt are inſerted, ſaith *Bellarmine*, by ſome Scholar of *Berengarius*, for they are not in all Copies. No marvel. That is more marvel that they are in any, ſince the Canonizing of *Tranſubſtantiation*. But in *Walden*'s time, and before, the words were thus read; for in his third Tome, Cap. 30. they are thus cited, ſave that by the error of the print *miniſterium* is put for *myſterium*, and he adds there, *Hanc tanti viri ſententiam cum magiſtrum ſuum Witcleff vident libro de ſermone Domini in monte Cap. 37. aſſumere tanquam ſacram, qualiter prædones Lollardi audent, &c.* But ſaith *Bellarmine*, *Theſe words make not to the matter in hand, for the Author of the Homily ſpake of the holy veſſels of Solomons Temple, which Balthaſar prophaned; and in thoſe veſſels, neither was the Lords true body, nor yet the myſtery thereof.* Well, if they be not to the purpoſe, if they ſpeak of the veſſels of *Solomons* Temple, let them ſtand in the

De Sacram. Euch. l. 2. c. 32.

Text ſtill. What need ye purge them out of the newer editions at *Antwerp*, and *Paris*? Belike Father *John Matthews* ſaw further into this matter than *Bellarmine*, for he caſts out this ſentence with the dregs of the *Arians*, although there be no Arianiſm in it that I can perceive. The truth is, the Author ſpeaks of the Veſſels uſed in the Lords Supper in his own time. For thoſe words, *ſicut docet Baithaſar*, &c. are brought in by the way, for a confirmation from a like example, the ſenſe hanging in the mean while, which is reſumed again when he goes on, *Si ergo hæc vaſa*, as any indifferent Reader may perceive Yea, take away theſe words, and the ſinews of the ſentence are cut, for the force of the argument lies in the compariſon of the prophaning of the holy Veſſels, and of our bodies; That is a ſin, yet Chriſts body is not contained in them, but the myſtery thereof: but God himſelf dwells in theſe.

Theſe examples, to omit ſome other, do make me think, that how ſoever the corrupting of the texts of the Fathers, is not now perhaps ſo uſual, as of other Writers, and good reaſon why, they know that many look narrowly to their fingers, neither is there any place almoſt, that is of ſpecial pith, that hath not been obſerved and urged in the handling of the controverſies of this age, by ſome or other; yet where there is any colour of differing Copies, or any advantage to be taken that way, it is not ſlipped. And who knows not, that

ſometimes

ſometimes the change of a Letter, yea, of a Point or Accent, makes the whole ſentence of another meaning? As for example, that of Saint *Auguſtine*, *Qui fecit te ſine te, non juſtificat te ſine te.* Read it interrogatively, and it is as ſtrong for *Soto* and the Dominicans, as if it be read aſſertively, for *Catharine* and the Jeſuits.

De verbis Domini, Serm. 15. *c.* 11.

And in very deed when I conſider the eagerneſs of theſe men, to win their purpoſes, and their fearful boldneſs with the holy Word of God, I know not how a man ſhould look for conſcience or reſpect at their hands in the writings of men. For to omit that the Trent-Fathers have canonized the *Vulgar Latin Edition*, which ſo many times departeth from the original inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, adding, detracting, changing, often to a diverſe, ſometimes to a contrary ſenſe. To let paſs alſo how *Sixtus V.* and *Clemens VIII.* do tyrannize over and delude the Faith of their followers, about that Edition, binding them unto two diverſe Copies, and ſometimes flat contradictory; and ſo, *as the form of each muſt be inviolably obſerved, without the leaſt particle of the Text added, changed or detracted.* The former, *derogating all Faith and authority from whatſoever Bibles hand-written, or printed, of the Vulgar edition, which did not agree with that which he ſet forth* ad verbum & ad literam. The latter, telling, that *when the ſame Pope endeavoured to ſet it out, he perceived not a few things to have crept into the holy Bible, through the fault of the Preſs, and that it needed a ſecond care*; where-

upon he decreed to bring the whole work again to the Anvile, had he not been prevented by death; ſo derogating all Faith from the former. Whereas the truth is, *Sixtus* did not only endeavour to ſet out his Bible, but prefixed his Bull before it *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and ſent one of the Copies to the *State of Venice* (as I heard at my being there) howſoever ſince it was cunningly recovered again, ſet it to ſale publickly, and ſaith in his Bull, that he corrected the faults of the Preſs with his own hand, and (which moſt of all convinceth Pope *Clement*'s Preface of falſhood) the difference of theſe Editions is not in fault of the prints, but in that the one follows the old erroneous reading, the latter the reading of other Manuſcripts according with the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Greek*, or the *Latin* edition of the Catholick Kings Bible, obſerved by the induſtry of the Divines of *Lovaine*. But to forbear to urge this contradiction in the very foundation of belief, which ſome man peradventure would preſs ſo far, as to inferr, that the Romaniſts have no faith (for he that believes contradictories, believes nothing.) What ſhall we ſay of that impiety, to corrupt the original Text according to the vulgar Latin? See an example hereof in the firſt promiſe of the Goſpel, *Gen.* 3. where the Serpent is threatned, that *the ſeed of the Woman ſhall cruſh his head*. The vulgar Edition leaving here the *Hebrew*, the *Seventy*, and Saint *Hierome* himſelf, as appears by his queſtions upon Geneſis, tranſlates *Ipſa*, *She ſhall bruiſe thy head*. So

it

it ſtands now in the authentical Scripture of the Church of *Rome*, and herein *Sixtus* and *Clemens* are of accord. The Divines of *Lovaine* obſerve, that two Manuſcript Copies have *Ipſe*. That the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Greek*, have it ſo likewiſe. Why then did not either *Sixtus* or *Clemens*, or they themſelves having Copies for it, correct it, and make it ſo in the authentical Text? I will tell you by colour of this corruption, the Devil envying Chriſts glory, like an obſtinate enemy rather yielding himſelf to any than his true Conqueror, hath given this honour to the *Virgin Mary*. To her it is attributed in that work which I think to be the moſt ungodly and blaſphemous that ever ſaw the Sun, *The Ladies Pſalter*, wherein that which is ſpoken of God by the Spirit of God is writhed to her. In the 51. Pſalm, *Quid gloriaris in malitia, ô maligne Serpens, &c. Why boaſteſt thou in malice, ô thou malignant Serpent and infernal Dragon? Submit thy head to the Woman, by whoſe valour thou ſhalt be drowned in the deep. Cruſh him, ô Lady, with the foot of thy valour, ariſe and ſcatter his malice, &c.* And in the 52. ſpeaking to the ſame Serpent. *Noli extolli, &c. Be not lifted up for the fall of the Woman, for a Woman ſhall cruſh thy head, &c.* So that in that Anthem; *Hæc eſt mulier virtutis quæ contrivit caput Serpentis.* Yea which I write with grief and ſhame, to her doth good *Bernard* apply it, *Hom. 2. ſuper Miſſus eſt*, and which is more ſtrange, expounds it, not of her bearing our Saviour, but *Ipſa*

procul dubio, &c. She doubtleſs cruſhed that poiſonfull head, which brought to naught all manner of ſuggeſtion of that wicked one, both of temptation of the fleſh, and of pride of mind. To her doth the learned and devout Chancellor of *Paris* apply it. *Has peſtes univerſas dicimus membra Serpentis antiqui, cujus caput ipſa virgo contrivit.* And what marvel in thoſe times, when the plain Text of the Scripture ran ſo in the feminine gender, of a woman, and few or none had any skill of the Greek or Hebrew? Who ſhould that SHEE be, but *ſhe that is bleſſed among women?* Now although that thanks be to God it is known that this is a corrupt place, out of the Fountains, yea out of the Rivers alſo, the teſtimonies of the Fathers, referring this to Chriſt, as *Irenæus*, *Juſtine*, *Cyprian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Hierome*, yea Pope *Leo* himſelf, yet becauſe no error of the Church of *Rome* may be acknowledged, how palpable ſoever; they have caſt how to ſhadow this corruption, and ſet ſome colour upon it, that howſoever this reading cannot be true, yet it may be made like to truth. Lo in the Interlinear-Bible ſet forth by the authority of King *Philip* the father of his Majeſty that now Reigns with you, the Hebrew Text is reformed according to the Latine, IPSA. There was ſome opportunity hereunto, by reaſon that the Letters of the Text without pricks would bear both readings. For הוא may be read הוּא *hu*, or הוֹא *hiu*. And this ſelf-ſame word for the Letters the baſe of reading, is ſo pointed

Serm. de Nativitate Mar. Virginis.

S-- D. *Reinolds Conf. with Hart. c. 6. §. 2.*

pointed in this Chapter, verſe 19. and applyed to *Eve She is the mother of all living.* And ſo elſewhere, as *Gen.* 28. 1. and 21. Hereunto perhaps was added, that the pricks are a late invention of the *Rabbines*, as many think, and no part of the Hebrew Text. And that not only *Leo Caſtro*, and ſuch as accuſe the preſent Hebrew Copies as falſified, but thoſe that defend them alſo, do many of them confeſs. Hereupon it was reſolved, as it ſeems, to point this place אתו *him.* For it was not by miſtaking, but purpoſely done, *Franciſcus Lucas* in his Annotations upon the place doth aſſure us; and ſaith it was *Guido Fabricius* his deed. And indeed other things there be in that work, which ſavour not of the learning and integrity of *Arias Montanus*, as for example, the Etymologie of *Miſſa* from the word משר But as Boldneſs is not always as provident, as Ignorance or Malice is bold, theſe Correctors marked not, that the gender of the Verb, and the affix of the Noun following, are both Maſculine. So although the Orthographie would be framed to conſent, yet the Syntax doth crie out againſt this Sacriledge. And yet our Rhemiſts, as I am informed, in their lately ſet-forth Bible, with a long note upon this place, defend the applying of this Text to the bleſſed Virgin, and the old reading *Ipſa.* What ſhould a man ſay? Neceſſity makes men deſperate, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Evil men and deceivers ſhall wax worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived.* 2 Tim. 3. 13.

Theſe be frauds indeed, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, wilfully corrupting the Texts of good Authors, wilfully maintaining them ſo corrupted; not abſtaining from the holy Scriptures themſelves. For as to that other kind, depraving the ſenſe, retaining the words; it were endleſs to cite examples. *Bellarmine* alone, as I believe, paſſeth any two Proteſtants that ever ſet pen to paper, perhaps all of them put together.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Armies of evident Witneſſes for the Romaniſts.

WHere you add, That *you found the Catholicks had far greater and better Armies of evident Witneſſes than the Proteſtants*, it might perhaps ſeem ſo to you, as your mind was prepared, when you had met with ſuch cunning Muſter-Maſters as the Romaniſts are: Who ſometimes bring into the Field to make their number ſeem more, after the old ſtratagem of War, a ſort of Pages and Lackies, unworthy to hold any rank in the Hoſt of God, under the names of the Fathers. Sometimes to confirm their part, give out a Voice confidently, that all the Forces which they ſee aloof in the Field are on their ſide, whereas when it comes to the Battle they ſhall find that they will turn their Arms againſt them. Sometimes they change the Quarrel it ſelf; in which caſe how eaſie is it to bring Armies, as you ſay, into the Field, to fight againſt No-body and evident Witneſſes, to prove that which no Man denies? For the purpoſe, that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath had a primacy of Honour and Authority; when as the queſtion is about a Monarchy, and infallible Judgment, an uncontrolable Juriſdiction.

Herein

Herein if you pleaſe, ſee how *Bellarmine* alledges the Fathers, Greek and Latine, in the 15. and 16. Chapters of his Firſt Book, *de Summo Pontifice.* So for proof of the verity of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Lords Supper, he ſpends a whole Book only in citing the Teſtimonies of the Fathers. To what purpoſe? When the queſtion is not of the truth of the Preſence, but of the manner; whether it be to the Teeth and Belly, or Soul and Faith of the Receiver. Sometimes they will bear down the unexpert Souldier their Reader, that he ſees the Fathers fight for them; as *Pighius* and *Bellarmine* come in often with their *Vides* in the end and application of a Teſtimony. Whereby it comes to paſs that the Scholar if he be of a plyable diſpoſition, or loth to be counted dim-ſighted, yields himſelf to his Teacher, and ſees in the Fathers that which they never dreamed of. But ſurely, Sir, had you given that honour to the Holy Scriptures, which of the Jews was given to them, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt allows it in them; and then employed as much travel in the ſearching and looking into them, as you profeſs to have done in the *peruſing the Councils and Fathers*, perhaps God had opened your Eyes, as thoſe of *Eliſha* his Servant, to have ſeen, that *there are more on our ſide than againſt us*, Horſes indeed and Chariots of Fire, able to put to flight and ſcatter never ſo great Armies of humane Authorities and Opinions. But this place of the *Scriptures* hath no place amongſt all your Motives.

As

As touching that which you ſay *of the Centuriſts often cenſuring and rejecting the plain Teſtimonies of the Antients.* It is true, that in the title *De Doctrina*, they note apart, *The ſingular and incommodious Opinions, the Stubble and Errors of the Doctors.* Wherein to tell you my fancy, If they commit any fault, it is, That they are too rigid and ſtrict, referring into this Catalogue, every improper and exceſſive Speech, which being ſevered from the reſt of the diſcourſe, may often ſeem abſurd: As it may alſo ſeem ſtrange that our Saviour ſhould teach a Man *to hate his Father and Mother*, or *pull out his Eyes*, or *give him his Cloak that hath bereaved him of his Coat.* Whereas theſe and the like have in the place where they ſtand, admirable force and grace, being taken with an equal and commodious Interpretation. But it is as clear as the Noon day, that ſundry ſuch errors and ſingular Opinions there be in the Fathers, as cannot be juſtified. They ſpeak not alwayes to your own Minds, not only *prima facie, and in ſound of Words*, but being never ſo well examined and ſalved. Witneſs Sixtus Senenſis *in the fifth and ſixth Books of his* Bibliotheca. Witneſs *Pamelius Medina* (though blamed for confeſſing ſo much by *Bellarmine*); yea witneſs *Bellarmine* himſelf. Wherefore if the bare Authority of the Fathers muſt bind us, undergo the ſame Law ye give; *if*, as your *Belgick Index* confeſſeth, *you bear in them with many errors, extenuate them, excuſe them, by deviſing ſome ſhift, often deny them, and give them a commodious ſenſe, when they are oppoſed in*

Diſputations

Diſputations, give the liberty ye take. Or if (as we think) theſe be baſe courſes and unbeſeeming the ingenuity of true Chriſtian minds, acknowledge this honour as proper to the Scriptures, to be without controverſie received, examine by the true Touchſtone of Divine Authority all humane Writings, how holy ſoever their Authors have been. Try all things, as the Apoſtle commands, hold faſt that which is good.

Your inſtance in *Daneus his Commentaries, ſuper D. Aug. Enchiridon ad Laurentium*, was not all the beſt choſen. For neither doth S. *Auguſtine* in that Book treating profeſſedly of Purgatory, avouch it plainly, or yet obſcurely. Nor doth *Daneus* reject his Opinion with thoſe Words, *Hic eſt nævus Auguſtini*, or the like. The Heads of S. *Auguſtines* Diſcourſe are theſe. I. *That whereas ſome thought that ſuch as are baptized and hold the Faith of Chriſt, though they live and dye never ſo wickedly, ſhall be ſaved, and puniſhed with a long but not eternal fire, he thinks them to be deceived, out of a certain humane pity; for this Opinion is flatly contrary to other Scriptures.* II. *He interprets the place of S.* Paul, *touching the trying of every Mans Work by fire, of the fire of tribulation, through which as well he that builds Gold and Silver, that is, minds the things of God, as he that builds Hay and Stubble, that is, too much minds the things of this life, muſt paſs.* III. *He ſaith, that it is not incredible, that ſome ſuch thing is done after this life alſo; and whether it be ſo or not, may be enquired of.* IV. *But whether*

ther it be found or no, that ſome faithful people, according as they have more or leſs, loved theſe periſhing things, are later or ſooner ſaved; yet not ſuch as of whom it is ſaid, that they ſhall not poſſeſs the Kingdom of God, unleſs repenting as they ought, they obtain forgiveneſs; as for the purpoſe, be fruitful in Almes; which yet will not ſerve to purchaſe a licence to commit ſin. V. *That the daily and lighter ſins, without which we are never in this life, are blotted out by the Lords Prayer. And ſo the greater alſo, if a Man leave them, and forgive others his Enemies; which is a worthy kind of alms: But the beſt of all is a ſinners amending of his life.* Lo how plainly S. *Auguſtine* avoucheth Purgatory, of which he doubts whether any ſuch thing can be found or no: Expounds that Scripture that ſeems moſt ſtrong for it, all otherwiſe, and ſo as it cannot agree thereunto. If it be found, is ſure it will not ſerve for greater ſins. And for leſſer defects, yea the greateſt, ſhews another a ſurer Remedy, which in truth makes Purgatory ſuperfluous. In this Doctrine, *Daneus* is ſo far from controuling S. *Auguſtine*, that he applauds him; and ſaith, *That declaring his own Opinion of Purgatory, he pronounceth plainly, that the whole defining of this matter is uncertain, doubtful, and raſh; which ſince that* Auguſtine *wrote being now an old Man, certainly it cannot be doubted but that he did altogether reject Purgatory: Yea and he ſhews this fire it ſelf to be unprofitable.* Thus *Daneus* there. But the cenſure that was in your mind, I believe, is that upon another paſ-

ſage

ſage of S. *Auguſtine* in the ſame Book, where he treats, *whether the Souls of the Dead are eaſed by the Piety of their Friends that are living.* And thus he determines it. *That when the Sacrifices either of the Altar, or of whatſoever Alms are offered for all ſuch as are deceaſed after Baptiſm, for ſuch as are very good folk, they are Thankſgivings; for ſuch as are not very evil, they are Propitiations: For thoſe that are very evil, though they be no helps to the Dead, yet they are Conſolations, ſuch as they be, to the Living. And to ſuch as they are profitable unto, it is either that they may have full remiſſion, or that their very damnation may be more tolerable.* Upon this Chapter thus ſaith *Daneus. Hoc totum caput continet ἀνωμαλίαν Auguſtini*, and after he adds, *Itaque hic fœnum & ſtipulam ædificat vir pius & magnus.* But *you*, ye ſay, *had rather follow S.* Auguſtine's *Opinion than his Cenſure.* Perhaps as one ſaith, *rather erre with* Plato *than hold the truth with others.* If that be your reſolution, what ſhould we uſe any more Words? Believe then if you pleaſe, that the Commemoration of Chriſts Sacrifice in the Lords Supper, or the Oblations of the faithful, are to be made for *all that deceaſe after Baptiſm*, in the attempting of whatſoever ſin they dye, yea ſuppoſe in final impenitence of any deadly crime. That *ſuch as be damned may thereby have their damnation made more tolerable.* Believe that without any impropriety of Speech, the ſame form of Words may be a thankſgiving for one, and an appeaſing of Gods wrath for another. Believe alſo (if you can believe what you will

will) that S. *Tecla* delivered the Soul of *Faleonilla* out of Hell, and S. *Gregory* the Soul of *Trajan*, and that as may ſeem ſaying Maſs for him, ſith he was forbidden thenceforth *to offer any Hoſt for any wicked Man.* Believe that *Macarius* continually praying for the Dead, and very deſirous to know whether his Prayers did them any good, had anſwer by miracle from the Scull of a dead Man an Idolater, that by chance was tumbled in the way. *O* Macarius *when thou offereſt Prayers for the Dead, we feel ſome eaſe for the time.* Believe that on *Eaſter* even *all the damned Spirits in Hell keep Holy day, and are free from their torments.* S. *Auguſtine*, ſuch is his modeſty, will give you leave to believe this, as well as Purgatory, if you pleaſe, as he is not unwilling to give as large ſcope to other Mens Opinions as may be, ſo they reverſe not the plain and certain grounds of Holy Scripture. In all theſe you may if you pleaſe follow Authors alſo; as S. *Damaſcene*, *Paladius*, *Prudentius*, *Sigebert*, and others. But give the ſame liberty to others that ye take. Compel no Man to follow your Opinion, if he had rather follow *Danæus's* Reaſons. For my ſelf, I would ſooner with S. *Auguſtine* himſelf, whoſe words touching S. *Cyprian*, *Danæus* here borrowed, confeſs this to be, *novum candidiſſimi pectoris coopertum ubere Charitatis*, than be bound to juſtifie his conceit touching the commemoration of the Dead in the Lords Supper. And as he ſaith of S. *Cyprian*, ſo would I add. *Ego hujus libri Authoritate non teneor, quia literas Auguſtini*

guſtini non ut Canonicas habeo, ſed eas ex Canonicis conſidero; & quod in iis divinarum Scripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude ejus, accipio, quod non congruit cum pace ejus, reſpuo. Which Words I do the rather ſet down, that they may be *Luthers* juſtification alſo againſt F. *Parſons*, who thinks he hath laid ſore to his charge when he cites very ſolemnly his Epiſtle *ad Equitem Germ. Anno Domini* 1521. where he ſaith, *He was tyed by the authority of no Father, though never ſo holy, if he were not approved by the judgment of Holy Scripture.* Surely this is not *to deny and contemn*, as he calls it, or as you to *controll* the Fathers, to account them ſubject to humane infirmities, which themſelves acknowledge. But the contrary is to *boaſt againſt the Truth*, to ſeek to forejudge it with their miſtakings, which needs not ſo much as require their Teſtimonies.

Relat. *p.* 21.

I will forbear to multiply words about that, *whether the teſtimonies of Antiquity which favour the Proteſtants be many or few*: whether they do *indeed ſo, or onely ſeem, prima facie*; whether *they be wreſted, or to the purpoſe*; whether all this may not by juſter reaſon be affirmed of the paſſages cited by the Romaniſts out of Antiquity, ſetting aſide *matters* of *ceremony*, and *government* (which your ſelf confeſs by and by may be divers, without impeaching unity in Faith) and *opinions*, ever to be ſubjected to the trial of Scriptures, by their own free conſent and deſire. Judge by an inſtance or two, that this matter may not be a meer skirmiſh of generalities. *Tertullian*

tullian in his latter times, whether as Saint *Hierome* writes through the envy and reproach of the Roman Clergy, or out of the too much admiring chaſtity and faſting, became a Montaniſt, and wrote a Book *de Pudicitia, blaming the reconciling of Adulterers and Fornicators.* In the very entrance almoſt thereof, he hath theſe words. *Audio etiam edictum eſſe propoſitum, & quidem peremptorium. Pontifex ſcil. Maximus Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum dicit, Ego & mœchiæ & fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto.* *Pamelius* in his note upon this place, writes thus, *Bene habet, & annotatu dignum quod etiam jam in hæreſi conſtitutus, & adverſus Eccleſiam ſcribens, Pontificem Romanum Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum nuncupet; & infra Cap.* 13. *bonum Paſtorem, & benedictum Papam, & Cap* 21. *Apoſtolicum.* Thus *Pamelius*; and preſently lanches forth into the Priviledges of the See of *Rome,* and brings a number of teſtimonies for that forgery of *Conſtantines donation.* The like note he hath in the life of *Tertullian,* where he makes the Pope thus ſet forth the former Edict to have been *Zephyrinus*'s; *quem,* ſaith he, *Pontificem Maximum etiam jam hæreticus Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum appellat.* *Baronius* alſo makes no ſmall account of this place, and ſaith, *The title of the Pope is here to be noted.* And indeed, *prima facie* (as you ſay) they have reaſon. But he that ſhall well examine the whole web of *Tertullians* diſcourſe, ſhall find that he ſpeaks by a moſt bitter and ſcornful *Ironie,* as *Elias* doth of *Baal,* when he ſaith, *he is a God.* The word *ſcilicet* might

have taught them thus much. Yea, the title *Pontifex Maximus*, which in those days, and almost two ages after, was a Pagan term, never attributed to a Christian Bishop, first laid down by *Gratian* the Emperour, as *Baronius* also notes, in the year of our Lord 383. because it savoured of Heathenish superstition, though it had been, as a title of Royalty used by the former Christian Emperours, till that time. This title, I say, might have made them perceive *Tertullians* meaning; unless the immoderate desire of exalting the Papacy did so blind their eyes, that seeing, they saw, and yet perceived not. In the same character, though with more mildness and moderation, is the same title for the other part of it, used by Saint *Cyprian*, in his Vote in the Council of Carthage. *Neque n. quisquam nostrum se esse Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem Collegas suos adigit.* *Bellarmine* saith, *he speaks here of those Bishops that were in the Council of Carthage; and that the Bishop of* Rome *is not included in that sentence, who is indeed Bishop of Bishops.* What! and doth he tyrannously inforce his Colleagues to obedience also? For it is plain that *Cyprian* joyns these together, the one as the presumptuous title, the other as the injurious act answering thereto, which he calls plain *tyranny*. And as plain it is out of *Firmilianus*'s Epistle, which I vouched before, that *Stephanus* Bishop of *Rome* heard ill for his arrogancy and presuming upon the place of his Bishoprick, *Peters Chair*, to sever himself

himſelf from ſo many Churches, and break the bond of peace, now with the Churches of the Eaſt in *Aſia*, now of the South in *Africk*. And he was in as ill conceit with *Cyprian* for his breaking good order, and communicating with *Baſilides* and *Martialis* juſtly deprived in *Spain*; as Saint *Cyprian* was with him, when he ſtiled him, *a falſe Chriſt*, and *a falſe Apoſtle*. But that holy Martyr was of a more patient and calm ſpirit, than to be moved with ſuch reproaches; nay, he took occaſion, as it ſhould ſeem, thereby to write *of patience*. From this mildneſs it was, that he ſo cloſely taxed the preſumption of him, that made himſelf Biſhop of Biſhops, and by terror (which what it was, *Firmiliani*'s Epiſtle ſhews, threatning Excommunication) would compel his Colleagues to his own opinion. *None of us*, ſaith he, *doth thus*. As the Apoſtle, *we preach not our ſelves; we commend not our ſelves; We are not as many, that adulterate the Word of God, &c.* *Bellarmine* takes the firſt kindly. No marvel, ſaith he, for this is the Biſhop of *Rome*'s due. But they go together, he muſt be content to take both, or leave both.

Such another place there is in Saint *Auguſtine Epiſt.* 86. the words are, *Petrus etiam inquit Apoſtolorum Caput, cœli janitor, & Eccleſiæ fundamentum.* Where in the Margent, the Divines of *Lovaine*, the overſeers of *Plantines* edition, ſet this note, *Petrus Eccleſiæ fundamentum.* Why might they not? The words ye will ſay of the Text. But theſe words of the text be not Saint *Auguſtines*,

whoſe opinion is well enough known, *That it is Chriſt confeſſed by* Peter, *that is the foundation of the Church*; but they are the words of an undiſcreet railer * *of the City of Rome*, againſt whom Saint *Auguſtine* in all that Epiſtle moſt vehemently inveighs. This arrogant Author endeavours ſo to defend the Roman cuſtome of faſting on the Saturday, as he reproaches all other Churches that uſed otherwiſe. And that we may ſee with what Spirit he was led, he brings the ſame text that is brought in Pope *Siricius*, and *Innocentius*'s Epiſtles, againſt the marriage of Clergymen, *Qui in carne ſunt Deo placere non poſſunt*, and many other Scriptures wreſted, and far from the purpoſe; at laſt comes the authority of *Peter*, and his tradition very Pope-like alledged, *Peter*, he ſaith, *the head of the Apoſtles, porter of heaven, and foundation of the Church, having overcome* Simon *the Sorcerer, who was a figure of the Devil, not to be overcome but by faſting, thus taught the Romans, whoſe faith is famous in the whole world.* I remit you to Saint *Auguſtine*'s anſwer to this tradition. This I note, that where your Cenſors do raſe out of the Margents of former editions, ſuch notes as do expreſs the very opinions of the Ancients, and in their own words, here they can allow and authorize ſuch marginal notes, as are directly contrary to their meaning. Yea, which are earneſtly oppugned by them; when they ſeem to make for the authority of the Pope. Good ſir, examine well this dealing, and judge if this be not wreſting the Fathers, and applying them clean from their purpoſe.

* *u bici cujuſdum.*

In

In fine, *you found your ſelf, you ſay, evidently convinced.* Perſwaded, I believe, rather than *convinced.* Elſe if the force and evidence of the Arguments, and not the pliableneſs of your mind were the cauſe of your yielding, methinks they ſhould work like effect in others, no leſs ſeriouſly ſeeking for truth, and ſetting all worldly reſpects aſide, earneſtly minding their own ſalvation, than your ſelf. Which I well know they do not, neither thoſe which hitherto have been examined, nor thoſe which yet remain to be conſidered in the rereward.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Inviſibility of the Church, ſaid to be an evaſion of Proteſtants.

THE firſt whereof is, *the diſlike of the Proteſtants evaſion, as you call it, by the inviſibility of their Church.* Give me leave here to tell you plainly, ye ſeem to me not to underſtand the Proteſtants doctrine in this point. Elſe ye would have ſpared all that, *The Catholick Church muſt ever be viſible, as a City ſet on a hill, otherwiſe how ſhould ſhe teach her children, convert Pagans, diſpenſe Sacraments?* All this is yielded with both hands. The Congregations of which the Catholick Church doth conſiſt are viſible. But the promiſe made to this Church, *of victory againſt the gates of Hell,* the titles, *of the houſe of God, the baſe and pillar of Truth,* (an alluſion, as I take it, to the baſes and pillars that held up the veil or curtains in the Tabernacle) *the body of Chriſt, his Dove, his undefiled,* are not verified of this Church in the whole viſible bulk of it, but in thoſe that are called according to Gods purpoſe, given to Chriſt, and kept by him to be raiſed up to life at the laſt day. This doctrine is Saint *Auguſtine*'s in many places, which it would be too tedious to ſet down at large. In his third book, *De doctrina Chriſtiana,* among the rules of *Tychonius,* there is

is one which he corrects a little for the terms, *De Domini corpore bipartito*; which he ſaith, ought not to have been called ſo, *for in truth that is not the Lords body, which ſhall not be with him for ever, but he ſhould have ſaid of the Lords true body and mixt, or true and feigned, or ſome ſuch thing. Becauſe not only for ever, but even now, hypocrites are not to be ſaid to be with him, though they ſeem to be in his Church.* Conſider thoſe reſemblances taken out of the holy Scripture, *wherein that godly Father is frequent, of chaff and wheat in the Lords floor, of good and bad fiſhes in the net, of ſpots and light in the Moon. Of the Church carnal and ſpiritual, of the wicked multitudes of the Church, yet not to be accounted in the Church. Of the Lilly and the Thorns; thoſe that are marked which mourn for the ſins of Gods people, and the reſt which periſh, which yet bear his Sacraments.* Conſider the laſt Chapter of the book, *De Unitate Eccleſiæ*, and that large Treatiſe which he hath of that matter, *Epiſt.* 48. The place is long, which deſerves to be read, for the objection of the Univerſality of Arianiſme (like to that of Papiſme in theſe laſt ages) which Saint *Auguſtine* anſwers in the fifth book, *De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas cap.* 27. *That number of the juſt, who are called according to Gods purpoſe, of whom it is ſaid, The Lord knoweth who are his, is the incloſed garden, the ſealed fountain, the well of living waters, the orchard with Apples, &c.* The like he hath. *l.* 5. *c.* 3. & 23. he concludes, that *becauſe ſuch are built upon the Rock, as hear the Word of God and do it, and the*

reſt upon the ſand: now the Church is built upon the Rock, all therefore that hear the Word of God and do it not, are out of queſtion without the Church. In the ſeventh book, *cap.* 51. *Quibus omnibus conſideratis.* —— Read and mark the whole Chapter. Out of theſe and many more like places, which I forbear to mention, it appears, that albeit the true Catholick Church is ſuch as cannot be hid, yet conſidering that it conſiſts of two ſorts of people, the one, which is the greater part, who do not indeed properly belong to it: the other, the fewer, truely and properly ſo called, to whom all the glorious things ſpoken of the Church do agree. The face therefore of the mixt Church may be over-run with ſcandals, as in all times almoſt. The greateſt number may ſometime be Idolaters, as in the Kingdom of *Iſrael* under *Achab.* The principall left in authority may be falſe teachers, as the Prieſts and Prophets in *Jeremies* time: the ſons of peſtilence may ſit in *Moſes* Chair, as they did in Chriſts time. Yet ſtill the Church *is the ground and pillar of Truth in the Elect: Ipſa eſt prædeſtinata columna & firmamentum veritatis. The Sheep hear not Seducers, John* 10. 8. to wit, *finally, and in any damnable point.* Thus was it before Chriſt, thus ſince, thus in the Church of *England*, before, yea, and ſince it was reformed. Thus in that of *Rome* it ſelf at this day. There is a diſtinction of *Thomas*, of thoſe that be in the Church, which rightly interpreted agrees fully herewith. There are ſome, *De Eccleſia numero tantùm.* Some, *numero & merito.* The former are ſuch as have

De unitate Eccl. c. 24. *Evarrat. in Pſal.* 103. *Conc.* 1.

have only *fidem informem*, the latter *formatam*. Now though the perſons of ſuch, as be in the Church be viſible, yet the Faith and Charity of men we ſee not, and to argue from the priviledges of the Church, *numero & merito*, to the Church, *numero tantum*, is a perpetual, but a palpable *paralogiſme* of the Romiſh faction: which is groſſer yet, when they argue to the Church *repreſentative*; and groſſeſt of all, when *one man is made the Church*, and he (as themſelves grant may fall out) a Devil incarnate.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of lack of Uniformity in matters of Faith, in all Ages and Places.

AND this ſelf ſame *Paralogiſm* you were beguiled with, in the next Point of *Uniformity and Concord in matters of Faith. The true Church, ye ſay, ever holds ſuch Uniformity.* It is utterly falſe in the *Viſible and mixt Church*, both before Chriſt and ſince. It is falſe in the Church of *Rome* it ſelf; whoſe *new-coined Faith*, patched to the Creed, by *Pius* the Fourth, came in piece-meal out of private Opinions and corrupt uſages, nor ever was in any Age uniformly holden, or taught as matter of Faith, even in it, as it is at this day. So by your own Diſcourſe it ſhould be no true Church. And taking *matters of Faith*, ſo largely as it ſeems you do in oppoſition *to ſuch things as be Ceremonies or of Government*; it is untrue alſo of the *Church of the Elect, or properly ſo called.* For though the Faith in the *Principles* thereof be ever the ſame, yet many *Concluſions* of Faith have ſometimes lyen unſearched out, and like ſome parts of the World unknown, till by the induſtry of Gods Servants, occaſioned alſo by the importunity and oppoſition of Hereticks, they were diſcovered. Sundry common

common errors alſo there have been, which in ſucceeding Ages have been cleared and reformed: as, the *Chiliaſts*: That *Angels have Bodies*: That *Children after they be baptized are to be communicated*: That *Hereticks are to be rebaptized.*

To the Aſſumption. Firſt, The Proteſtants challenge not to themſelves any Church as *their own*; which I muſt advertiſe you of here, becauſe formerly alſo you do uſe this Phraſe. The Church is Chriſts, both the viſible and inviſible. Next, taking *matters of Faith for foundations or Articles of Faith neceſſary to Salvation*, the Church of Chriſt hath in all Ages had Uniform concord with the Proteſtants at this day in ſuch matters, as appeareth by the *Common Rule of Faith* the Creed; and ſo hath alſo the Church under the Popes tyranny. As to the *Trent Additions* they are foreign to the Faith, as neither Principles nor Concluſions thereof: Neither can your ſelves ſhew uniform conſent and concord in them (and namely, in the 11. of them) in any one Age, eſpecially as *matters of Salvation*, as now they are canonized. How much leſs can ye ſhew it in all other concluſions of Faith; whereabout there have been among you, as are now among us, and ever will be differences of Opinions, without any prejudice for all that unto the *unity of the Faith* of the Church, and *title to the name* of it. As for *Wicliff*, *Hus*, and the reſt, if they have any of them born record to the Truth, and reſiſted any innovation of corrupt Teachers in their times, even

even to Blood, they are juſtly to be termed *Martyrs*, yea albeit they ſaw not all corruptions, but in ſome were themſelves carried away with the ſtream of error. Elſe, if becauſe they erred in ſome things, they be no *Martyrs*, or becauſe we diſſent from them in ſome things, we are not of the ſame Church, both you and we muſt quit all claim to S. *Cyprian*, *Juſtin Martyr*, and many more whom we count our Antients, and Predeceſſors, and bereave them alſo of the honour of Martyrdom, which ſo long they have enjoyed: You ſee, I hope, by this time the weakneſs of your Argument.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Original of Reformation in Luther, Calvin; Scotland, England, *&c.*

IN your next Motive taken *from the Original of Reformation*, before I come to anſwer your Argument ſhortly coucht in form, I muſt endeavour to reform your judgment in ſundry points of Story, wherein partly you are miſ-led and abuſed by *Parſons* and others of that Spirit, partly you have miſtaken ſome particulars, and out of a falſe imagination framed a like diſcourſe. Firſt, for *Luther*, it was not *his rancor againſt the Dominicans* that ſtirred him up againſt the Pope, but the ſhameful merchandize of Indulgences, ſet to ſale in *Germany*, to the advantage of *Magdalen*, ſiſter to Pope *Leo* the Tenth. Believe herein if not *Sleidan* yet *Guicciardine* l. 13. And of all that mention thoſe affairs, it is acknowledged, that at the firſt, and for a good time he ſhewed all obedience, and reverence to the Pope. The new *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, written by an *Italian* a Subject and part of the Church of *Rome*, as ſhould appear by the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the *Reverend and learned Archbiſhop of* Spalato prefixed to his Majeſty,

Pag. 6. jeſty, ſpeaketh thus of the matter. *Queſto diede occaſione*, &c. *This gave occaſion to* Martin, *to paſs from Indulgences to the Authority of the Pope, which being by others proclaimed for the higheſt in the Church, by him was made ſubject to a General Council lawfully celebrated. Whereof he ſaid that there was need in that inſtant, and urgent neceſſity. And as the heat of diſputation continued, by how much the more the Popes power was by others exalted, ſo much the more was it by him abaſed, yet ſo as* Martin *contained himſelf within the terms of ſpeaking modeſtly of the perſon of* Leo, *and*
Pag. 7. *ſaving ſometimes his judgment.* Again, *after his departure from the preſence of Cardinal* Cajetan *at* Auguſta, he ſaith, *He wrote a Letter to the Cardinal, confeſſing that he had been too vehement, and excuſing himſelf by the importunity of the Pardoners, and of thoſe that had written againſt him, promiſing to uſe more modeſty in time to come, to ſatisfie the Pope, and not to ſpeak any more of Indulgences, provided that his Adverſaries would do the like.* This was *Luthers* manner at the firſt, till the Bull of Pope *Leo* came out, dated the ninth of *November*, 1518. *Wherein he declared the validity of Indulgences, and that he as* Peters *Succeſſor and Chriſts Vicar had power to grant them for the quick and dead; that this is the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *the Mother and Miſtris of all Chriſtians, and ought to be received of all that would be in the Communion of the Church.* From this time forward *Luther* began to change his ſtile,
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Pope, ſo after this Bull he reſolved to refuſe it, and thereupon put forth an Appeal to the Council, &c. You ſee then how ſubmiſſively *Luther* at firſt carried himſelf. But extream tyranny overcomes often a well prepared patience.

Touching *his cauſing Rebellion alſo againſt the Emperour,* ye are miſ-informed: His advice was asked about the Aſſociation of the Proteſtants at *Smalcald,* he ſaid plainly, He could not ſee how it could be lawful, further than for their own defence. *Joh. Bodin,* in his ſecond Book *de Repub. cap.* 5. hath theſe Words. *We read alſo that the Proteſtant Princes of* Almain *before they took Arms againſt the Emperor, demanded of* Martin Luther *if it were Lawful. He anſwered freely that it was not lawful, whatſoever tyranny, or impiety were pretended. He was not believed; ſo the end thereof was miſerable, and drew after it the ruine of great and illuſtrious Houſes of* Germany. As for *the war in* Germany it began not till after *Luthers* death, neither was it a rebellion of the Proteſtants; the truth is, they ſtood for their Lives. The Emperor with the help of the Popes both Mony and Arms, intended to root them out; and although at the firſt the Emperour did not avow his raiſing Arms againſt them to be for Religion, yet the Pope in his Jubilee publiſhed upon this occaſion, did not lett to declare to the World, that *himſelf and* Cæſar *had concluded a League to reduce the Hereticks by force of Arms to the obedience of the Church, and therefore all ſhould pray for the good ſucceſs of the War.* *Sleidan, l.* 8

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That *Luther* ever *reviled the Emperour*, I did never till now hear or read, and therefore would desire to know what Authors you have for it. Touching other Princes, namely, King *Henry* the Eighth, I will not defend him, who condemned himself thereof. It is true that he was a Man of a bold and high Stomach, and specially fitted thereby through the Providence of God, to work upon the heavy and dull disposition of the *Almains*, and in so general a *Lethargy*, as the World then was in, he carried himself (as fell out sometimes) very boisterously. But *Arrogancy*, *Schism*, *Rebellion*, were as far from him, as the intention it self *to plant a Church.*

As to his *Vow-breaking* lastly, if that Vow were foolishly made and sinfully kept, it was *justly* broken: Perhaps also *charitably*, if he would by his own example reform such, as lived in Whoredome, and other Uncleanness, and induce them to use the Remedy that God hath appointed for the avoiding of them, to wit, honourable Marriage. All this matter touching *Luther*, unless I be deceived, you have taken from Mr. *Harding*; that at least touching his *rancor against the* Dominicans, for it is his very Phrase. But Mr. *Harding* both in this, and many things else discovereth his passion, and lack of true information in this affair. When with one Breath he affirmeth, that, first, it was *a Pardon of a Croisade against the Turks* which was preached: Whereas it was *an Indulgence to those that should put their helping hands for the building of S.* Peters *Church at* Rome, as the Articles

Articles of this Pardon printed in Engliſh, one of the Copies whereof I have my ſelf, do ſhew. Secondly, next he ſaith, the preaching hereof was granted *to Friar* John Tetzet. It was Friar *John Thecel*, or *Tecel*. Thirdly, he ſaith, *The Elector of* Mentz Albert, *granted this to* Thecel *and the* Dominicans, whereby *Luther was bereft of the gain he expected.* The truth is, it was *Aremboldus* a Biſhop living at the Court of *Rome*, whom (having before been a Merchant of *Genoa*) *Magdalen* the Popes Siſter put in truſt with this Merchandiſe, that appointed the *Dominicans* to be the Retailers of theſe Pardons. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* had nothing to do with it, otherwiſe than to allow and ſuffer it, which occaſioned *Luther* to write to him, as to the Biſhop of *Brandenburgh*, and to *Leo* himſelf, to repreſs the impudence of the Pardoners. And *Luther* ſaith further in one place, that the Archbiſhop undertook to give countenance to this buſineſs, with that condition, that the half of the prey ſhould go to the Pope, and himſelf might have the other half to pay for his Pall. By theſe Errors heaped together it may appear what credit it is like Mr. *Hardings* Tale be worthy of, touching the remnant, that of *rancor and malice againſt the* Dominicans, *and becauſe he was bereaved of that ſweet Morſel, which in hope he had almoſt ſwallowed down*, Luther *made this ſtir.* A hard thing methinks it is, for any that lived at that day to ſet down what was in *Luthers* Heart, what were his hopes, his deſires, ran-

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That

cor, and ſpleen; much more for Mr. *Harding*, moſt of all for you and me. When the actions of Men have an appearance of good, Charity would hope the beſt, Piety would reſerve the judgment of the intention to God.

Let us come to *Calvin*, touching whom I marvel not much that *you ſay nothing of all that which* Bolſeck *brings againſt him*, who being by his means chaſed out of *Geneva*, diſcovereth as I remember in the very entrance, that he was requeſted *by ſome of his good Maſters to write againſt him.* I once ſaw the book while I lived in *Cambridge*; it hath no ſhew of probability that *Calvin* would go about to work a miracle to confirm his Doctrine, who teacheth that Miracles are no ſure and ſufficient proof of Doctrine. I marvel rather that even in reading Dr. *Bancroft*, Mr. *Hooker*, and *Saravia*, all Oppoſites to *Calvin* in the queſtion of Church-Diſcipline, and therefore not all the fitteſt to teſtifie of him or his actions, all late Writers, and Strangers to the Eſtate and Affairs of *Geneva*: of whom therefore, beſides their bare Word, ſufficient proof were to be required of what they ſay, you not only receive whatſoever they bring, but more than they bring. You ſay, they prove what never came in their minds; and which is not only utterly untrue, but even unpoſſible. As that *Calvin by his unquietneſs and ambition revolved the State of* Geneva, *ſo unjuſtly expelling and depriving the Biſhop of* Geneva, *and other Temporal Lords, of their due obedience and antient inheritance.* When as the

the Biſhop and Clergy of *Geneva*, upon the throwing down Images there by popular tumult, departed in an anger, ſeven years ere ever *Calvin* ſet Foot within the Gates of that City. A thing not only clear in Story, by the Writers of that time, and ſince, *Sleidan*, *Bodine*, *Calvins* Epiſtles, and Life, but ſet down by thoſe whom ye cite. Mr. *Hooker* in his Preface ſpeaking of *Calvin*. *He fell at length upon* Geneva, *which City the Biſhop and Clergy thereof, had a little before, as ſome do affirm, forſaken, being of likelihood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for the aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion.* And a little after, *At the coming of* Calvin *thither, the form of their Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day*, &c. Dr. *Bancroft*. *The ſame year that* Geneva *was aſſaulted*, (*viz.* by the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Biſhop, as he had ſaid before, pag. 13,) *which was Anno* 1536. *Mr.* Calvin *came thither.* If *Calvin* at his coming found the Form of the Government Popular; If he came thither the ſame Year that the Biſhop made war upon *Geneva* to recover his Authority, being indeed either affrighted, or having forſaken the Town before, how could *Calvin* expel him? And in truth *Bodine* in his ſecond Book, *De Repub.* Chap. 6. affirmeth, *That the ſame Year* Genoa *was eſtabliſhed in a State Ariſtocratical, which was, he ſaith*, Anno 1528. Geneva *was changed from a Monarchy Pontifical, into an Eſtate Popular, governed Ariſtocratically, although that long before the Town pretended to be free, againſt the Earl and againſt the Biſhop*, &c. What *Saravia* hath written touch-

ing this point I cannot tell, as not having his Book. But in *Beza* his anſwer to him, there is no touch upon any ſuch thing. He joyns with his complaint, *of the ſacrilegious uſurping Eccleſiaſtical goods*, in anſwer to his Proëme. He diſſents in that *Saravia* accounts the *Seniors of the reformed Churches like to that kind which Saint* Ambroſe *ſpeaks of, brought in out of wiſdom only, to rule the diſorderly. Beza* ſaith, they were not *introducti*, but *reducti*, *Cap.* 12. For the reſt in all that anſwer there is nothing of *Calvin*, or any ſuch *revolving* of the ſtate as you accuſe him of. Which makes me think, that herein your memory deceived you. It may be that in your younger time, falling upon theſe Authors, by occaſion of the queſtion of Diſcipline, which was then much toſſed, ere ever your judgement were ripened, you formed in your mind a falſe impreſſion of that which they ſay of *Calvin*. You conceited them out of your zeal in the cauſe, to ſay more than they do, and thus poſſible unawares received the ſeeds of diſlike of the *doctrine of Calvin*, as well as *his diſcipline*, which have ſince taken root in you. But you ſhall do well to remember, the difference you put a little before of theſe two. Chriſtian *doctrine* is uniform and ever the ſame; *government* is changeable in many circumſtances, according to the exigence of times and perſons. And even the ſame men that write ſomewhat eagerly againſt Maſter *Calvin*, yet give him the praiſe of *wiſdom*, to ſee what for that time and ſtate was neceſſary. Maſter *Hooker* ſaith of him, *That he thinks him incomparably*

parably the wiſeſt man that ever the French Church did enjoy ſince the hour it enjoyed him: and of his platform of diſcipline, after he hath laid down the ſumm of it; *This device I ſee not how the wiſeſt at that time living could have bettered, if we duely conſider what the preſent ſtate of* Geneva *did then require.* But be it (and for my part I think no leſs) that herein he was miſtaken, to account this to be the true form of Church policy, by which all other Churches, and at all times ought to be governed; let his error reſt with him, yea let him anſwer it unto his Judge; but to accuſe him of ambition, and ſedition, and that falſly, and from thence to ſet that brand upon the Reformation, whereof he was a worthy inſtrument (though not the firſt either there, or any where elſe) as if it could not be from God, being ſo founded; for my part I am afraid you can never be able to anſwer it, at the ſame Barr; no, nor even that of your own Conſcience, or of reaſonable and equal men.

For the *ſtirrs, broils, ſeditions, and murthers in* Scotland, *which you impute to* Knox *and the* Geneva-*Goſpellers*, they might be occaſioned perhaps by the Reformers there, as the broils which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaith he came to ſet in the world by the Goſpel. Poſſible alſo, that good men out of inconſiderate zeal, ſhould do ſome things raſhly: And like enough the multitude which followed them, as being fore prepared with juſt hatred of the tyranny of their Prelates, and provoked by the oppoſition of the ad-

verſe Faction, and emboldened by ſucceſs, ran a great deal further than either wiſe Men could foreſee, or tell how to reſtrain them. Which was applauded and fomented by ſome politick Men, who took advantage of thoſe motions to their own ends. And as it happens in natural Bodies, that all ill humors run to the part affected, ſo in civil, all diſcontented people when there is any Sorance run to one or other ſide; and under the ſhew of common Griefs, purſue their own. Of all which diſtempers, there is no reaſon to lay the blame upon the ſeekers of Reformation, more than upon the Phyſicians, of ſuch accidents as happen to the corrupted Bodies which they have in Cure. The particulars of thoſe affairs are as I believe alike unknown to us both, and ſince you name none, I can anſwer to none. For as for the *purſuing our King even before his birth*, that which his Majeſty ſpeaks of *ſome Puritans*, is over-boldly by you referred to Maſter *Knox* and the *Miniſters*, that were Authors of Reformation in *Scotland*. Briefly, conſider and ſurvey your own thoughts, and ſee if you have not come by theſe degrees: Firſt, from the inconſiderate courtes of ſome to plant the pretended *Diſcipline* in *Scotland*, to conceive amiſs of the *Doctrine* alſo. Then to draw to the encreaſing of your ill conceit thereof, what you find reported of any of the *Puritans*, a Faction no leſs oppoſed by his Majeſty in *Scotland* than with us in *England*.

So

So when we ſpeak of Religion (though that indeed be all one) you divide us into *Lutherans*, *Zwinglians*, *Calviniſts*, *Proteſtants*, *Browniſts*, *Puritans* and *Cartwrightiſts*, whenſoever any diſorder of all this number can be accuſed, then lo are we *all one*, and the fault of any Faction is the ſlander of all, yea of *the Goſpel* it ſelf, and of *Reformation*. Judge now uprightly if this be indifferent dealing.

From *Scotland* you come to *England*. Where becauſe you could find nothing done by popular tumult, nothing but by the whole State in *Parliament*, and Clergy in *Convocation*, you fall upon King *Henry*'s *Paſſions*, you *will not inſiſt upon them* you ſay; and yet you do, as long as upon any one member of your induction; though it matters little whether you do or no, ſince Father *Parſons* will needs aver that he lived and dyed of your Religion. Here firſt you mention, his *violent divorceing himſelf from his lawful Wife*. We will not now debate the Queſtion, How his Brothers Wife could be his lawful Wife? You muſt now ſay ſo. Whatſoever the Scriptures, Councils, almoſt all Univerſities of Chriſtendom determined: Yet methinks it ſhould move you that Pope *Clement* himſelf had conſigned to Cardinal *Campegius* a *Breve* formed to ſentence for the King, in as ample manner as could be, howſoever upon the ſucceſs of the Emperours affairs in *Italy*, and his own occaſions, he ſent a ſpecial Meſſenger to him

to burn it. But what violence was this that you ſpeak of? The matter was orderly and judiciouſly by the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* with the aſſiſtance of the learnedeſt of the Clergy according to the antient Canons of the Church, and Laws of the Realm, heard and determined. That indeed is more to be marvelled at, *What moved him to fall out with the Pope* his Friend, in whoſe quarrel he had ſo far engaged himſelf, as to write againſt *Luther*, of whom alſo he was ſo rudely handled as you mention before; having received alſo for ſome part of recompence, the title of *The Defender of the Faith*, having been ſo chargeably thankful to the Pope for it. All theſe things conſidered, it muſt be ſaid, this unkindneſs and ſlippery dealing of *Clement* with him was from the Lord, that he might have an occaſion againſt the Pope, and that it might appear that it was not Humane Counſel, but Divine Providence that brought about the baniſhment of the Popes Tyranny from among us. His marriage with the Lady *Anne Bullen*, her death, and the reſt which you mention of the abling or diſabling her Iſſue to inherit the Crown, I ſee not what it makes to our purpoſe. *The ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries*, was not his ſole Act, but of the whole State, with the conſent alſo of the *Clergy*, and taken out of Cardinal *Wolſey* his example, yea, founded upon the Popes Authority granted to him, *To diſſolve the ſmaller Houſes of*

Religion,

Religion, on pretence to defray the charges of his ſumptuous Buildings at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, wherein if it pity you (as I confeſs it hath ſometimes me) that ſuch goodly Buildings are defaced and ruined, we muſt remember what God *did to Shiloh*, *yea to* Jeruſalem *it ſelf*, *and his Temple there*. And that Oracle, *Every tree that beareth not good fruit ſhall be cut down, and caſt into the fire.* Jer. 7. 12. Matt. 3. 10.

You demand, *If this Man*, *King* Henry, *were a good Head of Gods Church?* What if I ſhould demand the ſame touching *Alexander* the Sixth, *Julius* the Second, *Leo* the Tenth, or twenty more of the Catalogue of Popes, in reſpect of whom King *Henry* might be canonized for a *Saint?* But there is a Story in *Tullies* Offices of one *Lucatius*, that laid a Wager that he was (*bonus vir*) a good Man; and would be judged by one *Fimbria*, a Man of Conſular Dignity. He, when he underſtood the caſe, ſaid, *He would never judge that matter*, *leſt either he ſhould diminiſh the reputation of a Man well eſteemed of*, *or ſet down that any Man was a good Man*; *which he accounted to conſiſt in an innumerable ſort of Excellencies and Praiſes.* That which he ſaid of *a good Man*, with much more reaſon may I ſay of a *good King*, one of whoſe higheſt excellencies is to be *a good Head of the Church.* And therefore it is a Queſtion which I will never take upon me to anſwer, *Whether King* Henry *were ſuch or no?* unleſs you will beforehand interpret this Word as favourably, as *Guicciardine* doth tell us Men are wont to do in the cenſuring Lib. 15.

your

your heads of the Church. For Popes, he ſaith, *now a-days are praiſed for their goodneſs, when they exceed not the wickedneſs of other men.* After this deſcription of *a good head of the Church*, or if ye will that of *Cominæus*, which ſaith he, is to be counted *a good King, whoſe vertues exceed his vices.* I will not doubt to ſay King *Henry* may be enrolled among the number of good Kings. In ſpecial, for his executing that higheſt duty of a good King, *the imploying his Authority in his Kingdom, to command good things, and forbid evil, not only concerning the civil Eſtate of Men, but the Religion alſo of God.* Witneſs his *authorizing the Scriptures to be had and read in Churches in our Vulgar Tongue, enjoyning the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and ten Commandments to be taught the people in Engliſh, aboliſhing ſuperfluous Holy-days, pulling down thoſe jugling Idols*, whereby the people were ſeduced, namely, *the Rood of Grace*, whoſe Eyes and Lips were moved with wires, openly ſhewed at *Pauls Croſs*, and pulled aſunder by the people. Above all, the *aboliſhing of the Popes Tyranny, and Merchandiſe of Indulgences*, and ſuch like Chafer out of *England.* Which Acts of his whoſoever ſhall unpartially conſider of, may well eſteem him a better Head to the Church of *England*, than any Pope theſe thouſand years.

In the laſt place you come *to the* Hugenots *and* Geuſes *of* France *and* Holland. You lay to their Charge, *the raiſing of Civil Warrs, ſhedding of Blood, occaſioning Rebellion, Rapine, Deſolations, principally for their new Religion.* In the latter part you write, I confeſs, ſomewhat

what reſervedly, when you ſay, *occaſioning*, not *cauſing*, and *principally*, not *only and wholly*, for Religion. But the Words going before, and the exigence of your Argument require, that your meaning ſhould be, they were the cauſers of theſe diſorders. You bring to my mind a Story, whether of the ſame *Fimbria* that I mentioned before, or another, which having cauſed *Quintus Scævola* to be ſtabbed (as Father *Paulo* was, while I was at *Venice*) after he underſtood that he eſcaped with his life, brought his Action againſt him, *for not having received the Weapon wholly into his Body*. Theſe poor people having endured ſuch barbarous Cruelties, Maſſacres and Martyrdoms, as ſcarce the like can be ſhewed in all Stories, are now accuſed by you as the Authors of all they ſuffered. No, no, Mr. *Waddeſworth*, they be the Laws of the *Roman* Religion, that are written in Blood. It is the bloody *Inquiſition*, and the perfidious violating of the *Edicts of Pacification*, that have ſet *France* and *Flanders* in combuſtion. An evident Argument whereof may be, for *Flanders*, that thoſe *Geuſes* that you mention, were not all *Calviniſts* (as you are miſ-informed) the chief of them were *Roman Catholicks*; as namely, Count *Egmond*, and *Horne*, who loſt their Heads for ſtanding, and yet only by Petition, againſt the new Impoſitions and the Inquiſition, which was ſought to be brought in upon thoſe Countries. The which when the *Vice-roy of Naples*,

D. Pe-

*An.*1547 *D. Petro de Toledo* would have once brought in there alſo, the people would by no means abide, but roſe up in Arms to the number of fifty thouſand, which ſedition could not be appeaſed, but by delivering them of that fear. The like reſiſtance, though more qui-
1563. etly carried, was made when the ſame Inquiſition ſhould have been put upon *Millaine*, ſixteen years after. Yet theſe people were neither *Geuſes* nor *Calviniſts*. Another great means to alienate the Minds of the people of the *Low-Countries* from the obedience of the Catholick Majeſty, hath been the ſeverity of his Deputies there, one of which leaving the Government after he had in a few years put
* 18000. to death * 8000 perſons, it is reported to have been ſaid, The Country was loſt with too much lenity. This Speech *Meurſius* concludes his *Belgick Hiſtory* withal. And as for *France*, the firſt broils there, were not for Religion, but for preferring the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and diſgracing the Princes of the Blood. True it is that each ſide advantaged themſelves by the colour of Religion, and under pretence of zeal to the *Roman*, the *Guiſians* murthered the Proteſtants (being in the exerciſe of their Religion aſſembled together) againſt the Kings Edict, againſt all Laws and common Humanity. And tell me in good ſooth, Mr. *Waddeſworth*, do you approve ſuch barbarous Cruelty? Do you allow the *Butchery at* Paris?

Do

Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their fellow Subjects, or to [offer them, without either humble Remonſtrance or flight, to] their Princes at their meer wills againſts their own Laws and Edicts? You would know, *quo jure*, the Proteſtants Wars in *France* and *Holland* are juſtified, [I interpoſe not my own Judgment, not being throughly acquainted with the Laws and Cuſtomes of thoſe Countries, but I tell you what both they, and the Papiſts alſo, both in *France* and *Italy*, have in ſuch Caſes alledged.] Firſt, the Law of *Nature*, which, [they ſay,] not only alloweth, but inclineth and enforceth every living thing, to defend it ſelf from violence. Secondly, that of *Nations*, which permitteth thoſe that are in the protection of others, to whom they owe no more but an honourable acknowledgment, in caſe they go about to make themſelves abſolute Soveraigns, and uſurp their Liberty, to reſiſt and ſtand for the ſame. And if a lawful Prince (which is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods) ſhall attempt to deſpoil them of the ſame, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion after all humble Remonſtrances they may, [they ſay,] ſtand upon their own guard, and being aſſailed, repel Force with Force, as did the *Macchabees* under *Antiochus*. In which caſe, notwithſtanding the perſon of the Prince himſelf, ought always to be ſacred and inviolable, as was *Sauls* to *David*. Laſtly, if the inraged Miniſter of a lawful Prince, will

will abuſe his Authority againſt the fundamental Laws of the Country,[they ſay,] it is no rebellion to defend themſelves againſt Force, reſerving ſtill their Obedience to their Soveraign inviolate. *Theſe are the Rules* of which the *Proteſtants* that have born Arms in *France* and *Flanders*, and the *Papiſts* alſo both there and elſewhere, as in *Naples*, that have ſtood for the defence of their Liberties, have ſerved themſelves. *How truly I eſteem it hard for you and me to determine, unleſs we were more throughly acquainted with the Laws and Cuſtomes of thoſe Countries, than I for my part am.*

This *Paſſage* above, is to be conſidered as a *Relation*, not as the Authors Opinion: But yet for fear of taking it by the wrong Handle, the Reader is defired to take notice; That a Subject's reſiſting his Prince in any cauſe whatſoever, is *Unlawful*, and *Impious*.

For *the Low-Countries*, the World knows that the Dukes of *Burgundy* were not Kings or abſolute Lords of them, which are holden partly of the Crown of *France*, and partly of the Empire. And of *Holland* in particular they were but Earls. And whether that Title carries with it ſuch a Soveraignty, as to be able to give new Laws, without their conſents, to impoſe Tributes, to bring in Gariſons of Strangers, to build Forts, to aſſubject their Honours and Lives to the dangerous trial of a new Court, proceeding *without form or figure of Juſtice*, any reaſonable Man may well doubt; themſelves do utterly deny it.

Yet

Yet you ſay boldly *they are Rebels*, and ask *why we did ſupport them?* It ſeems to ſome, that his *Catholick Majeſty* doth abſolve them in the Treaty of the Truce, *An.* 1608. of all *imputation of Rebellion.* And if they were Rebels, eſpecially for Hereſie, why did the moſt Chriſtian King ſupport them? As for Queen *Elizabeth*, if ſhe were alive, ſhe would anſwer your queſtion with another. *Why did* Spain *concur in Practice, and promiſe Aid to that deteſtable Conſpiracy that was plotted againſt her by* Pius *V.* as you may ſee at large in his Life, written by *Girolamo Catena?* It is, you ſay, *an eaſie matter to pretend Priviledges.* But it is no hard matter to diſcern pretended Priviledges from true, and *Treaſon* from *Reaſon* of State, and old Corruptions from *old Religion.* But to take Arms to change the Laws by the whole Eſtate eſtabliſhed, is Treaſon, whatſoever the cauſe or colour be: and therefore it was Treaſon in the Rebels of *Lincolnſhire* and *York-ſhire* in King *Henry*'s days, and in the Earls *of the North* in Queen *Elizabeths*, though they pretended their old Religion: and the ſame muſt be ſaid of all Aſſaſſinates attempted againſt the Perſons of Princes, as *Parryes*, *Somervilles*, *Squires*, againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and *the late Powder-Plot*, *the eternal Shame of Popery*, *againſt King* James.

To your Argument therefore in form, admitting *that it is no true Church, which is founded and begun in Malice, Diſobedience, Paſſion, Blood, and Rebellion*, no, nor yet a true Reformation of a Church (for in truth the Proteſtants pretend not to have founded any)

The

The Aſſumption is denied in every part of it. And here I muſt needs ſay you have not done unwiſely to leave out the Church of *England*, as againſt which you had no pretence, all things having been carried orderly, and by publick Counſel. But you have wronged thoſe which you name, and either lightly believed, or unjuſtly ſurmiſed your ſelf, touching *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, the *French*, and the *Hollanders*, when you make them the *raiſers of Rebellion and ſhedders of Blood.* Whoſe Blood hath been ſhed like Water in all parts of thoſe Countries, againſt all Laws of God and Man, againſt the Edicts, and publick Faith, till neceſſity [as they plead] enforced them to ſtand for their Lives. Yet you preſume that all this *is evident* to the World, whereas it is ſo falſe and improbable, yea, in ſome parts *impoſſible*, as I wonder how your heart could aſſure your hand to write it.

Give me here leave to ſet down, by occaſion of this your motive, that which I profeſs next to the evidence of thoſe Corruptions which the Court and Faction of *Rome* maintains, hath long moved my ſelf. And thus I would enlarge your Propoſition. *That Monarchy* (as now without liſping it calls it ſelf) which was founded, ſupported, enlarged, and is yet maintained by Pride, Ambition, Rebellion, Treaſon, murthering of Princes, Wars, diſpenſing with Perjury, and inceſtuous Marriages, Spoils and Robbery of Churches and Kingdoms, worldly Policy, Force and Falſhood, Forgery, Lying, and Hypo-

Hypocriſie, is not the Church of Chriſt, and his Kingdom, but the Tyranny of Antichriſt. The Papacy falſely calling it ſelf the Church of *Rome* is ſuch. *Ergo.* The Aſſumption ſhall be proved in every part of it, and in truth is already by the learned and truly noble *Lord of Pleſſis* in his *Myſterium iniquitatis.* But his Book I ſuppoſe you cannot view, and it would require a juſt volume to ſhew it, though but ſhortly. It ſhall be therefore, if you will, the task of another time. And yet, becauſe I do not love to leave things wholly at random, conſider a few Inſtances in ſome of theſe. Pope *Boniface* III. obtained that proud and ambitious Title of *Oecumenical*, ſo much deteſted by S. *Gregory.* Pope *Conſtantine* and *Gregory* II. revolted *Italy* from the Greek Emperors Obedience, forbidding to pay Tribute or obey them. Pope *Zachary* animated *Pipine* High Steward of *France*, to depoſe *Chilperick* his Lord, and diſpenſed with the Oaths of his Subjects. Pope *Stephen* II. moſt treacherouſly and unjuſtly perſwaded the ſame *Pipine* not to reſtore the *Exarchate of Ravenna* to the Emperor, after he had recovered it from *Aſtulfus* King of *Lombards*, but to give it to him. Pope *Nicholas* II. and *Gregory* VI. parted the prey with the *Normans* in *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, creating them *Dukes* thereof, to hold the *Emperor of Conſtantinople*'s Country in Vaſſalage of them. This latter alſo was the firſt, as all Hiſtorians accord, that ever attempted to depoſe the Emperor, againſt whom he moſt impiouſly ſtirred up his own Children, which moſt la- *Henry* IV.

mentably brought him to his end. Pope *Paſchal* II. would not ſuffer (for the full accompliſhment of this Tragedy) his Son to bury him. Pope *Adrian* IV. demanded Homage of the Emperor *Frederick*. *Alexander* III. trod on his neck. *Celeſtine* III. crowned *Henry* VI. with his Feet. *Innocent* IV. ſtirred up *Frederick* II. his own Servants to poiſon him, practiſed with the Sultan of *Ægypt* to break with him. This is that *Innocent*, of whoſe Extortions *Matthew Paris* relates ſo much in our Story; whom the learned, zealous, and *Holy Biſhop of* Lincoln, on his Death-bed, proved *to be Antichriſt*, and in a Viſion ſtroke ſo with his Croſier-ſtaff that he died. *Boniface* VIII. challenged both Swords, pretended to be ſuperior to the King of *France* in Temporal things alſo. *Clement* V. would in the vacancy of the Empire, that all the Cities and Countries thereof, ſhould be under his diſpoſition, made the Duke of *Venice*, *Dandalus*, couch under his Table with a Chain on his neck like a Dog, e're he would grant Peace to the *Venetians*. *This* Clement *V. commanded the Angels* to carry their Souls to Heaven, that ſhould take the Croſs to fight for the Holy Land.

What ſhall I ſay more? I am weary with writing thus much, and yet in all this, I do not inſiſt upon private and perſonal Faults, Blaſphemies, Perjuries, Necromancies, Murthers, barbarous Cruelties, even upon one another, alive and dead, nor on Whoredoms, Inceſts, Sodomies, open Pillages, beſides the perpetual Abuſe of the Cenſures of the Church.

Church. I inſiſt not upon theſe, more than you did upon King *Henry*'s Paſſions. I tell you not of him that called the *Goſpel a Fable*, or another that inſtituted his *Agnus Dei*'s, *to ſtrangle Sin like Chriſt's Blood.* Of him that diſpenſed with one to marry his own Siſter (for the Uncle to marry with the Neece, or a Woman to marry two Brothers, a Man two Siſters by Diſpenſation, is no rare thing at this day.) The Faculty to uſe Sodomy, *the Story of Pope* Joan, are almoſt incredible, and yet they have Authors of better Credit than *Bolſeck*. It may be ſaid that *John* XXII. *called a Devil incarnate*, that *Alexander* VI. the Poiſoner of his Cardinals, the Adulterer of his Son-in-laws Bed, inceſtuous Defiler of his own Daughter, and Rival in that villany to his Son, ſinned as Men, which empeacheth not the Credit of their Office. That *Paulus* V. *Vice-deus* takes too much upon him, when he will be *Pope-almighty*; but the Chair is without Error. Wherein, not to inſiſt for the preſent, but admitting it as true, that wickedneſs of mens Perſons doth not impeach the Holineſs of their Functions, which they have received of God, nor make Gods Ordinances, as his Word and Sacraments, of none effect. But tell me for Gods love, Maſter *Wuddeſworth*, is it likely that this *Monarchy* thus ſought, thus gotten, thus kept, thus exerciſed, is of God? Are theſe men, that wholly forſaking the feeding of the Flock of God, dream of nothing now but Crowns and Scepters, ſerve to the Church to no uſe in the World, unleſs it be to break the ancient

Canons, and oppreſs with their Power, all that ſhall but utter a free word againſt their Ambition and Tyranny; are they, I will not ſay with you, *good Heads of Gods Church*, but Members of it, and not rather Limbs of Satan? Conſider thoſe Texts: *My Kingdom is not of this World*, *Vos autem non ſic.* Conſider the Charge which S. *Peter* gives to his fellow Presbyters, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2, 3, 4. Now I beſeech our Lord deliver his Church from this Tyranny, and bleſs you from being a Member of ſuch a Head.

CHAP

CHAP. XI.

Of lack of Succeſſion, Biſhops, true Ordinations, Orders, Prieſthood.

I Come now to your Motive *from Succeſſion.* Where I marvel firſt, that leaving the Succeſſion of Doctrine, which is far more proper and intrinſecal to the Churches being, you ſtand upon that of Perſons and Offices. Yea, and about them too, immediately paſs from that which is of Eſſence, to the external Formalities *in Conſecration and Ordination, according to the ancient Councils.* Have you forgotten what you ſaid right now, *that matters of Ceremony and Government are changeable?* Yea, but *in France, Holland, and Germany, they have no Biſhops.* Firſt, what if I ſhould defend they have? becauſe a Biſhop and a Presbyter are all one, as S. *Jerom* maintains, and proves out of Holy Scripture, and the uſe of Antiquity. Of which Judgment, as *Medina* confeſſeth, are ſundry of the ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin; S. *Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Sedulius, Primaſius, Chryſoſtome, Theodoret, Oecumenius,* and *Theophylact:* which point I have largely treated of in another place, againſt him that

undertook Maſter *Alablaſter*'s Quarrel. Beſides, thoſe Churches in *Germany* have thoſe whom they call *Superintendents*, and *general Superintendents*, as out of Doctor *Bancroft* by the Teſtimony of *Zanchius*, and ſundry German Divines, you might perceive. Yea, and where theſe are not, *as in Geneva, and the French Churches, yet there are*, ſaith *Zanchius*, *uſually certain chief Men, that do in a manner bear all the ſway*, as if order it ſelf and neceſſity led them to this courſe. And what are theſe but *Biſhops* indeed, unleſs we ſhall wrangle about names, which for *reaſon of State*, thoſe Churches were to abſtain from. As for that you ſay *Lay-men intermeddle* there *with the making of their Miniſters*, if you mean *the election of them*, they have reaſon; for anciently the People had always a right therein, as S. *Cyprian* writes to the Churches of *Leon* and *Aſtorga* there in *Spain*, *Plebs ipſa maxime habet poteſtatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recuſandi*; and in ſundry places of *Italy* this uſage doth continue to this day. If ye mean it in *Ordination*, ye are deceived, and wrong theſe Churches, as *Bellarmine* himſelf will teach you, *lib. De Clericis, cap.* 3. *For amongſt the Lutherans and Calviniſts alſo*, ſaith he, *which have taken away almoſt all Eccleſiaſtical Rites, they only lay on hands, and make Paſtors and Miniſters, who though they be not Paſtors and Biſhops indeed, would be ſo accounted and called.*

cap. 8.

In

In *England* you *miſs firſt the leſſer orders*, and ſay, we *are made Miniſters per ſaltum*, as if all that are made Prieſts among you were *Pſalmiſts*, *Sextons*, *Readers*, *Exorciſts*, *Torch-bearers*, *Subdeacons*, and *Deacons* before. Remember, I pray, what the Maſter of the Sentences ſaith of Deaconſhip and Prieſthood. *Hos ſolos primitiva Eccleſia legitur habuiſſe, & de his ſolis præceptum Apoſtoli habemus.* He means in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*. Again, *Subdiaconos vero & Acolythos procedente tempore Eccleſia ſibi conſtituit.* What? and were the Primitive and Apoſtolick Churches no true Churches? or need we to be aſhamed to be like them? Beſides, thoſe Councils that ye ſpeak of, it ſhould ſeem were of no great either Antiquity or Authority, when not only Presbyters, without paſſing through any order, but Biſhops, without being ſo much as baptized, were ordained. As *Nectarius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Syneſius* of *Cyrene*, *Ambroſe* of *Millaine*, *Conſtantine* II. of *Rome* it ſelf. This therefore is a very ſlight Exception.

Your next is well worſe, *touching the Ordination at the Nags-head, where the Conſecration of our firſt Biſhops, as you ſay, was attempted, but not effected. It is certain, you ſay, and you are ſure there was ſuch a matter, although you know, and have ſeen the Records themſelves, that afterward there was a Conſecration of Doctor* Parker *at* Lambeth. Alas, Maſter *Waddeſworth*, if you be reſolved to believe Lies, not only againſt publick Acts,

and your own eye ſight, but againſt all Probability, who can help it? I had well hoped to have found that Ingenuity in you, that I might have uſed your Teſtimony unto others of that ſide, touching the Vanity of this Fable, as having ſhewed you the Copy of the Record of Doctor *Parker*'s Conſecration, which I had procured to be tranſcribed out of the Acts, which your ſelf alſo at your return from *London*, told me you ſaw in a Black Book. Now I perceive by your perplexed Writing, and enterlining in this part of your Letter, you would fain diſcharge your Conſcience, and yet uphold this Lye, perhaps, as loth to offend that ſide where you now are: and therefore you have deviſed this Temper, that the *one was attempted*, the other *effected*. But it will not be. For firſt of all, if that at the Nags-head were but *attempted*, what is that to the purpoſe of our Ordinations, which are not derived from it, but from the other, which as you ſay, was *effected* at *Lambeth*? And are you *ſure there was ſuch a Matter?* How are you ſure? Were you preſent there in Perſon, or have you heard it of thoſe that were preſent? Neither of both I ſuppoſe: but if it were ſo, that ſome body pretending to have been there preſent, told you ſo much, how are you ſure that he lied not in ſaying ſo; much more when you have it but at the third, or fourth hand, perhaps the thirtieth or fortieth? But conſider a little, is it probable

bable that men of that ſort, in an action of that Importance, and at the beginning of the Queens Reign, when eſpecially it concerned both them and her to provide, that all things ſhould be done with Reputation, would be ſo haſty and heedleſs, as to take a Tavern for a Church? Why might they not have gone to the next Church as well? They thought to make the old Catholick Biſhop drunken. Thus the *Wisbich and Framyngham Prieſts* were wont to tell the tale. Is it likely that they would not forethink that poſſible this good old Man would not drink ſo freely as to be drunken, and if he were, yet would not be in the humour to do as they would have him? For who can make any Foundation upon what another would do in his Cups? What a ſcorn would this be to them? Men are not always ſo provident in their Actions. True, but ſuch men are not to be imagined ſo Sottiſh, as to attempt ſo ſolemn an Action, and joyned commonly with ſome great Feaſt, and as you obſerved well out of the Acts, with the Queens Mandate for the Action to be done, and hang all upon a drunken fit of an old man. Beſides, how comes it to paſs that we could never underſtand the names of the old Biſhop, or of thoſe whom hé ſhould have conſecrated, or which *conſecrated themſelves, when he refuſed to do it.* For ſo do your men give it out; howſoever you

you ſay, *it was not there effected.* And in all the ſpace of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, wherein ſo many ſet themſelves againſt the Reformation by her eſtabliſhed, is it poſſible we ſhould never have heard word of it, of all the Engliſh on that ſide the Seas, if it had been any other than a flying Tale? After forty five years, there is found at laſt an Iriſh Jeſuit that dares put it in print, to prove by it as now you do, *that the Parliamentary Paſtors lack holy Orders.* But he relates ſundry Particulars, and brings his Proofs. For the purpoſe, this ordainer or conſecrater, he ſaith, was *Laudaſenſis Epiſcopus homo ſenex & ſimplex.* His name? Nay, that ye muſt pardon him. But of what City or Dioceſs was he Biſhop? For we have none of that Title. Here I thought once, that by errour it had been put for *Landaffenſis* of *Landaffe* in *Wales*, ſave that three times in that Narration it is written *Laudaſenſis*; which notwithſtanding, I continued to be of the ſame mind, becauſe I found Biſhop *Bonners* name twice alike falſe written *Bomerus.* But loe in the Margent a direction to the Book, *De Schiſmate fol.* 166. where he ſaith this matter is touched, and *it is directly affirmed, that they performed the Office of Biſhops, without any Epiſcopal Conſecration.* Again, *that great labour was uſed without an Iriſh Archbiſhop in Priſon at* London *to ordain them, but he could by no means*

Chriſtophorus à Sacro boſco Dublinienſis.

means be brought thereto. So it ſeems we muſt paſs out of *Wales* into *Ireland*, to find the See of this Biſhop or Archbiſhop. But I believe we may ſail from thence to *Virginia* to ſeek him; for in *Ireland* we ſhall not find him. Let us come to thoſe that he ſhould have ordained, what were their names? *Candidati*, if that will content you, more you get not. Why they might have been remembred as well as the *Nags-Head*, as well as *Bonners* name, and his See, and that he was *Dean of the Biſhops*, he means of the Archbiſhoprick, *ſede vacante*, and that he ſent his Chaplain (his name alſo is unknown) to forbid the Ordination. At leaſt their *Sees*. To cut the matter ſhort. *Quid plura? Scoraus Monachus poſt Herefordenſis pſeudo-epiſcopus cæteris, ex cæteris, quidam Scoræo manus imponunt: fiuntque ſine patre filii, & pater à filiis procreatur, res ſeculis omnibus inaudita.* Here is at length ſome certainty; Some truth mingled among, to give the better grace, and to be as it were the *Vehiculum* of a lye. For *John Scory*, in King *Edward* his times, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and after of *Hereford*, was one of thoſe that ordained Doctor *Parker*, and preached at his Ordination, But that was the Ordination *effected* as you call it: We are now in that which was not *effected*, but *attempted* only. And here we ſeek again, who were theſe *quidams* that laid Hands on *Scory?* We may go look them with *Laudaſenſis* the Archbiſhop of *Ireland*. Well; hear

hear the proofs. Maſter *Thomas Neal*, *Hebrew Reader of* Oxford, *which was preſent, told thus much to the antient Confeſſors, they to* F. Halywood. This proof by *Tradition*, as you know, is of little credit with Proteſtants, and no marvel: For experience ſhews that reports ſuffer ſtrange alterations in the carriage, even when the Reporters are intereſted. *Irenæus* relates from the *antient Confeſſors, which had ſeen* John *the Diſciple, and the other Apoſtles of the Lord*, and heard it from them, That *Chriſt our Saviour was between forty and fifty years of Age before his Paſſion.* I do not think you are ſure it was ſo. For my part, I had rather believe *Irenæus and thoſe Antients* he mentions, and the Apoſtles; than Father *Halywood* and his *Confeſſors*, and Maſter *Neal*. But poſſible it is, Mr. *Neale* ſaid, *he was preſent at* Matthew Parkers *Ordination by* John Scory. Theſe *Confeſſors* being before impreſſed, as you are, with the buz of the Ordination at the *Nags-head* made up that Tale; and put it upon him for their Author. Perhaps Mr. *Neal* did eſteem *John Scory to be no Biſhop*, and ſo was ſcandalized though cauſeleſly, at that action. Perhaps Mr. *Neale* never ſaid any ſuch Word at all. To help to make good this matter, he ſaith, *It was after enacted in Parliament, That theſe Parliamentary Biſhops ſhould be holden for lawful.* I looked for ſomething of the *Nags-Head Biſhops*, and the Legend of their Ordination. But the lawfulneſs

Lib. 2. c. 25.

fulneſs that the Parliament provides for, is (according to the Authority the *Parliament* hath) *civil*, that is, according to the Laws of the Land. The Parliament never intended to juſtifie any thing as lawful, *jure divino*, which was not ſo; as by the Preamble it ſelf of the Statute may appear. In which it is ſaid, *That divers queſtions had grown upon the making and conſecrating of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, within this Realm, whether the ſame were, and be duely and orderly done according to the Law or not*, &c. And ſhortly to cut off Father *Halywoods* ſurmiſes, the caſe was this, as may be gathered by the body of the Statute. Whereas in the five and twentieth of *Henry* the Eighth, an Act was made for the *Electing and Conſecrating of Biſhops within this Realm*; And another in the third of *Edward* the Sixth, *For the Ordering and conſecrating of them, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters*, according to ſuch form as by ſix Prelates, and ſix other learned Men in Gods Law to be appointed by the King ſhould be deviſed, and ſet forth, under the great Seal of *England*: Which Form in the fifth of the ſame Kings reign, was annexed to the Book of *Common Prayer*, then explained and perfected; and both confirmed by the Authority of Parliament. All theſe Acts were 1 *Mariæ*, & 1 & 2 *Philippi & Mariæ* repealed; together with another Statute of 35. *Henry* 8. touching *the Stile of Supreme Head to be uſed in all Letters Patents and Commiſſions*, &c. 8 *Eliz.* c. 1.

Theſe

Theſe Acts of repeal in the 1 *Elizabeth* were again repealed, and the Act of 25. *Hen.* 8. revived ſpecially. That of 3 *Edw.* 6. only concerning the Book of Common Prayer, *&c.* without any particular mention of the Book or form of Ordering Miniſters and Biſhops. Hence grew one doubt, whether Ordinations and Conſecrations according to that Form were good in Law or no. Another was, Queen *Elizabeth* in her Letters Patents touching ſuch Conſecrations, Ordinations had not uſed as may ſeem, beſides other general Words importing the higheſt Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, the title of *Supreme Head*, as King *Henry* and King *Edward* in their like Letters Patents were wont to do: And that notwithſtanding the Act of 35 *Hen.* 8. after the repeal of the former repeal might ſeem (though never ſpecially) revived. This as I gueſs was another exception, to thoſe that by vertue of thoſe Patents were conſecrated. Whereupon the Parliament declares, Firſt, *That the Book of Common Prayer, and ſuch Order and Form for conſecrating of Archbiſhops and Biſhops*, &c. *as was ſet forth in the time of King* Edward *the Sixth, and added thereto and authoriſed by Parliament, ſhall ſtand in force and be obſerved.* Secondly, That *all Acts done by any perſon about any Conſecration, Confirmation, or inveſting of any elect to the Office or Dignity of Archbiſhop or Biſhop, by vertue of the Queens Letters Patents or Commiſſi-*

on,

on, ſince the beginning of her Reign be good. Thirdly, That all that have been *Ordered or Conſecrated Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts,* &c. *after the ſaid Form and Order, be rightly made, ordered and conſecrated, any Statute, Law, Canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.* Theſe were the Reaſons of that Act; which as you ſee doth not make good the *Nags-head* Ordination as *F. Halywood* pretends, unleſs the ſame were according to the Form in *Edward* the Sixth's days. His next proof is, That *Bonner Biſhop of* London *while he lived, always ſet light by the Statutes of the Parliaments of Queen* Elizabeth, *alledging that there wanted Biſhops, without whoſe conſent by the Laws of the Realm there can no firm Statute be made.* That *Bonner* deſpiſed and ſet not a Straw by the Acts of Parliament in Queen *Elizabeths* time, I hold it not impoſſible, and yet there is no other proof thereof, but his bare Word, and the antient *Confeſſors tradition*, of which we heard before. Admitting this for certain, there might be other reaſons thereof, beſides the Ordination at the *Nags-head.* The ſtiffneſs of that Man was no leſs in King *Edwards* time than Queen *Elizabeths.* And indeed the want alſo of Biſhops might be the cauſe, why he little regarded the Acts of her firſt Parliament. For both much about the time of Queen *Maryes* death, dyed alſo Cardinal *Poole*, and ſundry other Biſhops: And of the reſt ſome for their contemptuous behaviour in denying to perform their duty in the Coronation of the Queen

Queen were committed to Priſon, others abſented themſelves willingly. So as it is commonly reported to this day, there was none or very few there. For as for Doctor *Parker* and the reſt, they were not ordained till *December*, 1559. the Parliament was diſſolved in the *May* before. So not to ſtand now to refute *Bonners* conceit, that according to our Laws there could be no Statutes made in Parliament without Biſhops (wherein our Parliament Men will rectifie his Judgment) *F. Halywood* was in this report twice deceived, or would deceive his Reader. Firſt, that he would make that exception which *Bonner* laid againſt the *Firſt Parliament* in Queen *Elizabeths* time, to be true of all the reſt. Then, that he accounts Biſhop *Bonner* to have excepted againſt this Parliament, becauſe the Biſhops there were no Biſhops as not canonically ordained: Where it was, becauſe there was no Biſhops true or falſe there at all. His laſt proof is That *Dr.* Bancroft *being demanded of Mr.* Alablaſter, *whence their firſt Biſhops received their Orders? anſwered, That he hoped a Biſhop might be ordained of a Presbyter in time of neceſſity. Silently granting, That they were not ordained by any Biſhop*: And therefore, ſaith he, *the Parliamentary Biſhops are without order Epiſcopal, and their Miniſters alſo no Prieſts. For Prieſts are not made but of Biſhops*; *whence Hierome*, Quid facit, *&c. What doth a Biſhop, ſaving Ordination, which a Presbyter doth not?* I have not the means to demand

mand of D. *Alablaſter*, whether this be true or not. Nor yet whether this be all the anſwer he had of Dr. *Bancroft*. That I affirm, that if it were, yet it follows not that D. *Bancroft ſilently granted they had no Orders of Biſhops*. Unleſs he that in a falſe Diſcourſe, where both Propoſitions be untrue, denies the Major, doth ſilently grant the Minor. Rather he jeſted at the futility of this Argument, which admitting all this lying Legend of the *Nags-head*, and more too; ſuppoſe *no Ordination by any Biſhops had been ever effected*, notwithſtanding ſhews no ſufficient reaſon why there might not be a true conſecration, and true Miniſters made, and conſequently a true Church in *England*. For indeed neceſſity diſpenſes with Gods own poſitive Laws, as our Saviour ſhews in the Goſpel; much more then Mark 2. with Mans: And ſuch by *Hierams* Opinion are the Laws of the Church, touching the difference of Biſhops and Presbyters, and conſequently touching their Ordination by Biſhops only. Whereof I have treated more at large in another place, for the juſtification of other reformed Churches, albeit the Church of *England* needs it not. To confirm this Argument, it pleaſeth *F. Halywood* to add, *That King* Edward *the Sixth took away the Catholick Rite of Ordaining, and inſtead of it, ſubſtituted a few Calviniſtical Prayers*. Whom Queen *Elizabeth* followed, *&c.* And this is in effect the ſame thing which you ſay,

when you add, *That* Coverdale *being made Biſhop of* Exceter *in King* Edward's *time, when all Councils and Church Canons were little obſerved, it is very doubtful he was never himſelf canonically conſecrated, and ſo if he were no canonical Biſhop, he could not make another Canonical.* To *F. Hatywood* I would anſwer, That King *Edward* took not away the Catholick Rite of Ordaining, but purged it from a number of idle and ſuperſtitious Rites preſcribed by the Popiſh Pontifical. And the Prayers which he ſcoffs at if they were Calvinſtical, ſure *it was by Prophecie*, for *Calvin* never ſaw them till Queen *Mary*'s time; when by certain of our *Engliſh* Exiles, the Book of Common Prayer was tranſlated and ſhewed him; if he ſaw them then. Some of them, as the *Litany*, and the Hymn *Veni Creator*, &c. I hope were none of *Calvin*'s deviſing. To you, if you name what Councils and Church Canons you mean, and make any certain exception, either againſt Biſhop *Coverdale*, or any of the reſt as not Canonical Biſhops, I will endeavour to ſatisfie you. Mean while remember I beſeech you, That both Law, and Reaſon, and Religion ſhould induce you in doubtful things to follow the moſt favourable ſentence, and not raſhly out of light ſurmiſes to pronounce againſt a publick and ſolemn Ordination, againſt the Orders conferred ſucceſſively from it, againſt a whole Church. Wherein I cannot but commend

Doctor

Doctor *Carriers* modeſty, whoſe Words are theſe. *I will not determine againſt the ſucceſſion of the Clergy in* England, *becauſe it is to me very doubtful.* And the diſcretion of *Cnaſemine* the Jeſuite, which denies the *Engliſh Nation to be Hereticks, becauſe they remain in a perpetual ſucceſſion of Biſhops.* And to take away all doubt from you, that *ſome of theſe Ordainers were only Biſhops elect, and unconſecrated*; beſides *Miles Coverdale*, in King *Edward*'s time Biſhop of *Exceter*, caſt in Priſon by Queen *Mary*, and releaſed and ſent over Sea to the King of *Denmark*, know that *William Barlow* was another; in King *Edward*'s days Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, in Queen *Mary*'s beyond the Seas in the company of the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* and Mr. *Bertie* her Huſband; at the time of Dr. *Parker*'s Ordination Elect of *Chicheſter*. A third was *John Scory*, in King *Edward*'s time Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and at the time of the ſaid Ordination *Elect of* Hereford. A fourth was *John Hodgeskin*, Suffragan of *Bedford*. And theſe four, if they were all ordained according to the Form ratified in King *Edward*'s days, were preſented by two Biſhops at leaſt to the Archbiſhop, and of him and them received Impoſition of Hands, as in the ſaid Form is appointed

Pag. 7.

De deſperata Calviai cauſa, c. 11.

One Scruple yet remains which you have, in *That theſe Men did conſecrate Doctor* Parker, *by vertue of a Breve from the Queen as Head of the Church, who being no*

true Head, and a Woman, you ſee not how they could make a true Conſecration grounded on her Authority. But to clear you in this alſo, you muſt underſtand the *Queens Mandate* ſerved not to give Power to ordain (which thoſe Biſhops had before intrinſecally annexed to their Office) but Leave and Warrant to apply that Power to the perſon named in that Mandate. A thing, unleſs I have been deceived by Reports, uſed in other Countrys, yea in the Kingdoms of his Catholick Majeſty himſelf. Sure I am by the Chriſtian Emperors in the Primitive Church, as you may ſee in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, and namely in the Ordination of *Nectarius*, that I ſpake of before. Yea, which is more, in the Conſecration of the Biſhops of *Rome*, as of *Leo* the Eighth, whoſe Decree, with the Synod at *Rome* touching this matter, is ſet down by *Gratian*, *Diſt.* 63. *c.* 23. taken from the example of *Hadrian*, and another Council, which gave to *Charles* the Great, *Jus & poteſtatem eligendi Pontificem, & ordinandi Apoſtolicam Sedem*, as you may ſee in the Chapter next before. *C. Lectis.* See the ſame *Diſt. c.* 16, & 17, & 18. and you ſhall find, that when one was choſen Biſhop of *Reate*, within the Popes own Province, by the Clergy and people, *C. Reatina.* and ſent to him by *Guido* the Count to be conſecrated, the Pope durſt not do it till the Emperors Licence were obtained. Yea, that he writes to the Emperour for.

Calum,

Colonus, *That receiving his Licence he might consecrate him either there, or in the Church of* Tuſculum, which accordingly upon the Emperours bidding he performed. *C. Nobis.*

Yet another Exception you take, to the making our Miniſters, That *we keep not the right intention.* Firſt, *Becauſe we neither give nor take Orders as a Sacrament.* By that Reaſon we ſhould have no true Marriages amongſt us neither, becauſe we count not Matrimony a Sacrament. This Controverſie depends upon the *definition of a Sacrament*, which if it be put to be *a ſign of a holy thing*, theſe be both ſo, and a many more than ſeven. If *a Seal of the New Teſtament*, ſo are there but thoſe two, which we properly call Sacraments, *Baptiſm* and the *Lords Supper*. In which laſt, as to *the intention of Sacrificing*, ſurely, if ye allow the Doctrine of the Maſter of the Sentences, That *it is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, which is offered and conſecrated by the Prieſt, becauſe it is a Memory and Repreſentation of the true Sacrifice and holy Immolation made on the Altar of the Croſs.* And that *Chriſt once dyed on the Croſs, and there was offered up in himſelf, but is daily offered up in a Sacrament*, becauſe *in the Sacrament there is a remembrance of that which was once done*; which he there confirms by the Authorities of the Fathers, cited by *Gratian* in the Canon Law. If this Doctrine, I ſay, may yet paſs for good, and this be the *Churches intention*, we want not this Intention *Lib. 4. diſt. 12.* *De Conſecrat. diſt. 2.* *Lac. Theol. lib. 12. c. 12*

tion of ſacrificing. Add to this the Confeſſion of *Melchior Canus*, who ſaith, the *Lutherans do not wholly deny the Sacrifice, but grant a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, which they call the* * *Euchariſt: they will have none for ſin which they call propitiatory.* If he had put hereto, *unleſs it be a Myſterie*, he had rightly expreſſed the Opinion of the Proteſtants.

* ſ. Euchariſticum.

Thirdly, You object, We *want the matter and Form with which Orders ſhould be given: Namely, for the matter in Prieſthood the delivery of the* Patena *with Bread, and the Chalice with Wine: In Deaconſhip the delivery of the Book of the Goſpel*, &c. By which reaſon the ſeven firſt Deacons had no true Ordination, for then there was no Goſpel written to be delivered them. Not thoſe Prieſts whom the Pope ſhall make by his ſole Word, ſaying, *Eſto Sacerdos.* Whom notwithſtanding ſundry famous Canoniſts hold to be well and lawfully ordained; and *Innocentius* himſelf ſaith, That if theſe Forms of Ordination were not found out, any other Ordainer might in like manner make Prieſts, with thoſe Words, or the like: for as much as theſe Forms were in proceſs of time appointed by the Church. And if we liſt to ſeek for theſe metaphyſical Notions *of Matter and Form*, in Ordination, which at the moſt can be but by *Analogy*, how much better might we aſſign the perſons deputed to ſacred Functions to be the matter (as thoſe that contract are by your ſelves made the matter

ter in Matrimony) and the impoſing of Hands, with the expreſſing the Authority and Office given to be the Form? In *Dionyſius* though falſely called the *Areopagite*, yet an antient Author, you ſhall find nothing elſe; nor, which I may tell you by the way, any other Orders, ſave Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons.

And to come to that wherein you ſay we fail moſt of all, *the ſubſtantial Form of Prieſthood*, tell me ingenuouſly, good Maſter *Waddeſworth*, how do you know that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made his Apoſtles, or they other Prieſts with this Form, which hath no mention or footſtep in the Goſpels, or otherwhere in Holy Scripture! Nor ſo much as in the *Council of* Carthage; that from whence the manner of giving other Orders is fetched; nor in *Gratian*, nor in any other antient Author that I can find, ſave in the *Pontifical* only. And is the preſent Pontifical of ſuch Authority with you, as the *Form of Prieſthood*, the *ſubſtantial Form*, can ſubſiſt in no other Words than thoſe that be there expreſſed? To omit the late turkeſing whereof, conſider what *Auguſtinus Patritius* writes in his Preface before that which at Pope *Innocent* the Eighth his commandment he patched together: *That there were ſcarce two or three Books found that delivered the ſame thing: Quot libri tot varietates. Ille deficit, hic ſuperabundat, alius mihil omnino de eâ re habet, raro aut nunquam conveniunt; ſæpe obſcuri, implicati,*

implicati, & Librariorum vitio plerunque mendoſi. And in truth in this your *eſſential Form of Prieſthood*, the old Pontificals before that which he ſet forth, either had other Words at the giving of the Chalice and Paten as may ſeem, or wanted both that Form and the Matter alſo together. The *Maſter of the Sentences* declaring the manner of the Ordination of Prieſts, and the reaſon why they have the Chalice with Wine, and Paten with Hoſts given unto them, ſaith it is, *Ut per hoc ſciant ſe accepiſſe poteſtatem placabiles Deo hoſtias offerendi. Hugo* in like manner, *Accipiunt & Calicem cum vino, & Patenam cum Hoſtia de manu Epiſcopi, quatenus poteſtatem ſe accepiſſe cognoſcant, placabiles Deo Hoſtias offerendi. Stephanus Eduenſis Epiſcopus*, in the ſame Words: *Datur eis Calix cum Vino, & Patena cum Hoſtia, in quo traditur iis poteſtas ad offerendum Deo placabiles Hoſtias.* So *Johannes Januenſis* in his Summ, entitled, *Catholicon*, verbo *Presbyter*. If you aſcend to the higher times of *Rabanus*, *Alcuinus*, *Iſidorus*, you ſhall find that they mention no ſuch matter, of delivering Chalice or Paten, or Words uſed at the delivery; and no marvel, for in the Canons of the *fourth Council of* Carthage they found none. *Dionyſius* falſly called *Areopagita*, whom I mentioned before, ſetting down the manner of Ordaining in his time. *The Prieſt upon both his knees before the Altar with the Biſhops right-Hand upon his Head, is on this manner*

manner ſanctified by his Conſecrator with holy Invocations. Here is all, ſave that he ſaith, after he hath deſcribed that alſo which pertains unto the Deacon, that *every one of them is ſigned with the Croſs when the Biſhop bleſſeth them, and proclaimed, and ſaluted by the Conſecrator himſelf, and every one of that ſacred Order that is preſent.* The Greek Scholiaſt very lively ſhews the meaning and manner of this proclaiming. He ſaith, *The Ordainer pronounceth by name when he ſigneth him,* Σφραγίζεται ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρου εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον, ἐν ὀνόμασι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ διακόνου. *Such a Man is conſecrated from being Presbyter to be a Biſhop in the name of the Father,* &c. *and ſo in the Presbyter and Deacon.* *Clemens Romanus* (if *F. Turrian* and the reſt of the Romiſh Faction deceive us not, or be not deceived themſelves, in attributing to him the eight Books of the Apoſtolick Conſtitutions that bear his name) cuts the matter yet more ſhort, and without either croſſing or proclaiming, appoints the *Biſhop to lay his Hands upon him, in the preſence of the Presbytery and the Deacons, uſing a Prayer,* which you may ſee at length in him; for *the increaſe of the Church, and of the number of them that by Word and Work may edifie it: For the party elected unto the Office of Prieſthood, that being filled with the operations of Healing and Word of Doctrine, he may inſtruct Gods people with meekneſs, and ſerve him ſincerely with a*

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pure mind, and willing heart, and perform holy Services without spot for his people through his Christ, to whom, &c. These last Words which are in the Greek, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίας ἀμώμης ἐκτελῇ διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου. *Carolus Bovius* Bishop of *Ostuna* interprets, *& Sacrificia pro populo tuo immaculata perficiat.* Marvel that he added not, *tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis.* Sure if S. *Paul, Rom.* 15. 16. had not added the Word εὐαγγελίαν, he had *sacrificed* also. This was the antient and Apostolick manner of Ordination, if the Author be worthy of credit. But that ye may perceive what tampering there hath been to bring Ordinations to the Form which the present Pontifical prescribes, consider with me the Words of *Amalarius* Bishop of *Triers* in his second Book *de Ecclesiast. Officiis*, where in the Office of the Subdeacon he thus writes; *Miror quâ de re sumptus usus in Ecclesia*, &c. *I marvel whence the use was taken in our Church, that very often the Subdeacon should read the Lesson at Mass, since this is not found committed unto him, by the Ministry given him in Consecration, nor by the Canonical Writings, nor by his name.* And streight after, *Nam primævo tempore; For in antient time the Deacon read not the Gospel which was not yet written; but after it was enacted by our Fathers, That the Deacons should read the Gospel, they appointed also that the Subdeacon should read the Epistle or Lesson.* It appears then that in *Amalarius* time, who lived with *Charles* the

the Great and *Lewis* his Son, that ridiculous Form was not in the Pontifical, where the Book of the Epiſtles is given to the Subdeacons, and power *to read them in the holy Church of God as well for the Quick as the Dead.* The *ſame Author*, coming to ſpeak of Deacons, telleth of their conſecration by Prayer, and impoſition of Hands, and confuteth that in the preſent Pontifical (which he ſaith he found in a little Book of Holy Orders) made he knows not by what Author, *That the Biſhop alone ſhould lay Hands on the Deacon.* At laſt he adds, *There is one Miniſtry added to the Deacon*, viz. *to read the Goſpel*, which he ſaith, *doth well beſit him, quia Miniſter eſt.* But of the delivery of the Book of the Goſpels, with authority to read the Goſpel for the Quick and Dead, not one Word. In the next Chapter of Presbyters he expounds their name, and ſaith further, *hunc morem tenent Epiſcopi noſtri.* Our Biſhops have this Faſhion, *they anoint the Hands of Presbyters with Oyl*, which Ceremony he declares; touching impoſition of Hands upon them, he remits us to that he ſaid before in the Deacon. Then he ſhews out of *Ambroſe* and *Hierom*, *That theſe are all one Order with Biſhops, and ought to govern the Church in common, like* Moſes *with the ſeventy Elders:* As for delivery of Chalice and Wine, or Paten and Hoſt, with power to ſacrifice ſo well for the Quick as the Dead, he makes no mention.

mention. Judge you whether theſe were thought to be the *matter* and *eſſential* Form of Prieſthood in his time. Yet one Author more will I name in this matter, not only becauſe he is a famous Schoolman, and one of *Luthers* firſt Adverſaries, and therefore ought to be of more account with that ſide, but becauſe he profeſſeth the end of his writing to be, *circa Sacramentum ordinis cautos reddere, ne pertinax quiſquam aut levis ſit circa modum tradendi aut recipiendi ordines.* It is Cardinal *Cajetane*, in the ſecond Tome of his *Opuſcula, Tit. De modo tradendi ſeu recipiendi Ordines.* Read the whole, where theſe things I obſerve for our preſent purpoſe. 1. *If all be gathered together which the Pontificals, or which Reaſon or Authority hath delivered, the nature of all the reſt of the Orders except Prieſthood only, will appear very uncertain.* 2. *The leſſer Orders and Subdeaconſhip according to the Maſter of the Sentences, were inſtituted by the Church.* 3. *The Deacons inſtituted by the Apoſtles,* Acts 6. *were not Deacons of the Altar, but of the Tables and Widows.* 4. *In Deaconſhip there ſeems to be no certain Form; for according to the old Pontificals, the laying of Hands upon the Deacon hath no certain Form of Words, but that Prayer;* Emitte quæſumus in eos S. Sanctum: *Which according to the new Pontificals is to be ſaid after the impoſition of Hands. For the giving of the Book of the Goſpels, hath indeed a form of Words, but that impreſſeth not the Cha-*

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racter, for before any Goſpel was written, the Apoſtles ordained Deacons by impoſition of Hands. 5. *In the Subdeaconſhip alſo there is no Pontifical which hath not the matter without Form,* viz. *the delivery of the empty Chalice,* &c. Theſe things with more which he there ſets down, *he would have to ſerve to the inſtruction of the learned touching the uncertainty of this whole matter, to teach Men to be wiſe to ſobriety, that is, every Man to be content with the accuſtomed Pontifical of the Church wherein he is ordained. And if ought be omitted of thoſe things which be added out of the new Pontificals, as for example, that the Book of the Epiſtles was not given, with thoſe Words* [*Take Authority to read the Epiſtles as well for the Quick as the Dead*] *there is no need of ſupplying this omiſſion by a new Ordination, for ſuch new additions make no new Law.* Learn then of your own *Cajetane,* that the new additions *of delivery of the Chalice with Wine, and Paten with Hoſts, and authority to offer ſacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, make no new Law.* Learn to be content with the Pontifical of the Church, wherein you were ordained. Wherein firſt is *verbatim* all that which your Pontificals had well taken out of the holy Words of our Saviour, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiſeris peccata remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueris retenta ſunt.* Which methinks you ſhould rather account to contain the eſſential Form of Prieſthood than the former, both becauſe they are Chriſts own Word, and

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joyned with that Ceremony of *Laying on Hands*, which antiently denominated this whole action, and do expreſs the worthieſt and *principalleſt part of your Commiſſion*, which the Apoſtle calls the *Miniſtry of Reconciliation*, 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. Then, becauſe this Office is not only deputed to conſecrate the Lords Body, but alſo to preach and baptize (which in your Pontifical is wholly omitted) in a larger and more convenient Form is added out of S. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, *and be thou a faithful Diſpenſer of the Word of God and of his holy Sacraments. In the name of the Father*, &c.

As to that you add, That *we offer no Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead*, and therefore well *may be called Miniſters, as all Laymen are, but are no Prieſts.* I have met with ſundry that pull this Rope as ſtrongly the other way, and affirm that *becauſe by the very Form of your Ordination you are appointed Sacrificers for the Quick and the Dead, well may ye be Maſs-Prieſts as ye are called, but Miniſters of the New Teſtament, after S.* Paul's *Phraſe ye are none.* For that Office ſtands principally in *preaching the Word*, whereof in your Ordination there is no Word ſaid. And as little there is in Scripture of your Sacrifice, which makes Chriſt not to be a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedeck*, &c. with much more to this purpoſe. Where my Defence for your Miniſtry hath been this, That the Form, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins ye remit*

remit they are remitted, &c. doth ſufficiently comprehend the Authority of preaching the Goſpel. Uſe you the ſame equity towards us, and tell thoſe hot Spirits among you, that ſtand ſo much upon formalities of Words, That *to be a Diſpenſer of the Word of God and his holy Sacraments*, is all the duty of *Prieſthood*. And to you I add further, that if you conſider well the Words of the Maſter of the Sentences which I vouched before, how *that which is conſecrated of the Prieſt is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, becauſe it is a Memorial and Repreſentation of the true Sacrifice and holy Offering made on the Altar of the Croſs*, and joyn thereto that of the Apoſtle, Heb. 10. 14 that *by that one Offering Chriſt hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified*, and as he ſaith in another place, *through that Blood of his Croſs reconciled unto God all things whether in Earth or in Heaven*; you ſhall perceive, that we do offer Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, remembring, repreſenting and myſtically offering that ſole Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, by the which all their ſins are meritoriouſly expiated, and deſiring that by the ſame, *we and all the Church may obtain remiſſion of ſins, and all other Benefits of Chriſts Paſſion.*

To the *Epilogue* therefore of this your laſt Motive, I ſay in ſhort. Sith we have no need of *Subdeaconſhip*, more than the Churches in the Apoſtles times, and in truth thoſe whom we call *Clerks* and *Sextons*

tons perform what is neceſſary in this behalf. Sith we have *Canonical* Biſhops, and *lawful Succeſſion.* Sith we neither want *due intention* to depute Men to Eccleſiaſtical Functions, nor *matter or Form in giving Prieſthood*; deriving from no Man or Woman the *Authority of Ordination*, but from *Chriſt* the Head of the Church; you have alledged no ſufficient Cauſe, why we ſhould not have true *Paſtors*, and conſequently a true *Church* in *England.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Concluſion. Mr. Waddeſworth's *Agonies and Proteſtation*, &c.

YEt *by theſe* (you ſay) *and many other Arguments, you were reſolved in your underſtanding, to the contrary.* It may well be that your Underſtanding out of its own heedleſs haſt, as that of our firſt Parents, while it was at the perfecteſt was induced into error, by reſolving too ſoon out of ſeeming Arguments, and granting too forward aſſent. For ſurely, theſe which you have mentioned, could not convince it, if it would have taken the pains to examine them throughly, or had the patience to give unpartial hearing to the Motives on the other ſide. But as if you triumphed in your own conqueſt and captivity, you add that which paſſeth yet all that hitherto you have ſet down, *viz. That the Church of* Rome *was and is the only true Church, becauſe it alone is Antient, Catholick and Apoſtolick, having Succeſſion, Unity and Viſibility in all Ages and Places.* Is it *only antient?* To omit *Jeruſalem*, are not that of *Antioch*, where the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians, and *Alexandria, Epheſus, Corinth*, and the reſt mentioned in the Scriptures antient

alſo? and of *Antioch* antienter than *Rome*. Is it *Catholick and Apoſtolick only?* Do not theſe and many more hold the Catholick Faith received from the Apoſtles, as well as the Church of *Rome?* For that it ſhould be the *Univerſal Church*, is all one as ye would ſay the part is the whole, one City the World. Hath it *only ſucceſſion?* where to ſet aſide the enquiry of Doctrine, ſo many Simoniacks, and Intruders have ruled, as about fifty of your Popes together, were by your own Mens Confeſſion *Apoſtatical*, rather than *Apoſtolical?* Or Unity, where there have been thirty Schiſms, and one of them which endured fifty years long, and at laſt grew into three Heads, as if they would ſhare among them the triple Crown? And as for diſſentions in Doctrine, I remit you to *Maſter Doctor* Halls *peace of* Rome, wherein he ſcores above three hundred mentioned in *Bellarmine* alone; above threeſcore in one only head of Penance out of *Navarrus*. As to that addition, *in all Ages and places*; I know not what to make of it, nor where to refer it. Conſider, I beſeech you, with your wonted moderation what you ſay; for ſure unleſs you were beguiled, I had almoſt ſaid bewitched, you could never have reſolved to believe and profeſs, that which all the World knows to be as falſe, I had (well nigh) ſaid as God is true, touching the *extent of the Romiſh Church to all Ages and places.*

Concern-

Concerning the *agonies you paſſed*, I will ſay only thus much, if being reſolved though erroneouſly that was truth, you were withholden from profeſſing it with worldly reſpects, you did well to break through them all. But if beſides theſe, there were doubt of the contrary (as methinks needs muſt be) unleſs you could ſatisfie your ſelf touching thoſe many and known Exceptions againſt the Court of *Rome*, which you could not be ignorant of) take heed, leſt *the reſt inſuing* theſe agonies were not like *Sampſons* ſleeping on *Dalilahs* knees, while the Locks of his Strength were ſhaven, whereupon (the Lord departing from him) he was taken by the *Philiſtins*, had his Eyes put out, and was made to grind in the Priſon. But I do not deſpair but your former reſolutions ſhall grow again. And as I do believe your religious aſſeveration, that *for very fear of damnation* you forſook us (which makes me to have the better hope and opinion of you, for that I ſee you do ſo ſeriouſly mind that which is the end of our whole life;) ſo I deſire from my Heart *the good hope of ſalvation you have* in your preſent way may be as happy, as your fear I am perſwaded was cauſeleſs.

For my part, I call God to record againſt mine own Soul, that both before my going into *Italy*, and ſince, I have ſtill endeavoured to find and follow the truth in the Points controverted between us,

without any earthly reſpect in the World. Neither wanted I fair opportunity had I ſeen it on that ſide, eaſily, and with hope of good entertainment to have adjoyned my ſelf to the Church of *Rome*, after your example. But (to uſe your words) *as I ſhall anſwer at the dreadful day of judgement, I never ſaw, heard, or read any thing, which did convince me: nay, which did not finally confirm me daily more and more, in the perſwaſion, that in theſe differences it reſts on our part.* Wherein I have not followlowed *humane conjectures from foreign and outward things* (as by your leave methinks you do in theſe your motives, whereby I proteſt to you in the ſight of God, I am alſo much comforted and aſſured in the poſſeſſion of the truth) but *the undoubted Voice of God in his Word*, which is more to my Conſcience than a thouſand *Topical* Arguments. In regard whereof I am no leſs aſſured, that if I ſhould forſake it I ſhould be renounced by our Saviour, before God and his Angels, than in the holding it be acknowledged and ſaved; which makes me reſolve, not *only for no hope, if it were of ten thouſand Worlds, but by the gracious aſſiſtance of God, without whom I know I am able to do nothing, for no terrour or torment ever to become a Papiſt.*

You ſee what a large diſtance there is between us in Opinion. Yet for my part, I do not take upon me to fore-judge you, or any other that doth not with an evil Mind and ſelf condemning Conſcience on-

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ly to maintain a Faction, differ from that which I am perſwaded is the right. I account we hold one and the ſame Faith in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and by him in the bleſſed Trinity. To his Judgment we ſtand or fall. Incomparably more and of more importance are thoſe things wherein we agree; than thoſe wherein we diſſent. Let us follow therefore the things of peace, and of mutual edification. If any be otherwiſe minded than he ought, God ſhall reveal that alſo to him. If any be weak or fallen, God is able to raiſe him up. And of you good Mr. *Waddeſworth*, and the reſt of my Maſters and Brethren of that ſide, one thing I would again deſire, that according to the Apoſtles profeſſion of himſelf, you would forbear *to be Lords over our Faith*, nor ſtraightway condemn of Hereſie, our ignorance or lack or perſwaſion concerning ſuch things as we cannot perceive to be founded in holy Scripture. Enjoy your own Opinions; but make them not *Articles* of our Faith: the analogy whereof is broken as well by Addition as Subſtraction. And this ſelf ſame equity we deſire to find in poſitive Laws. Orders and Ceremonies. Wherein as every Church hath full right to preſcribe that which is decent and to edification, and to reform abuſe; ſo thoſe that are Members of each are to follow what is enjoyned, till by the ſame Authority it be reverſed.

2 Cor. 1. 24.

And

And now to close up this *Account of yours*, whereof *you would have Dr.* Hall and me to be as it were *Examiners and Auditors*. Whether it be perfect and allowable or no, look you to it. I have here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainly and freely as I can; and as you required *fully*, if not tediously. I list not to contend with you about it. Satisfie your own Conscience, and our common Lord and Master, and you shall easily satisfie me. Once yet by my advice review it, and cast it over again. And if in the particulars you find you have taken many *nullities for signifying Numbers*, many *smaller* signifiers for *greater*; correct the *total*. If you find namely that out of desire of *Vnity*, and dislike of contention, you have apprehended our *diversities* to be more than they are: conceived a necessity of *an external infallible Judge*, where there was none: attributed the *priviledge of the Church properly called*, to that which is *visible and mixt*. If you find the reformed Churches more charitable, the proper note of Christs Sheep: The Roman Faction more *fraudulent*, and that *by publick counsel, and of politick purpose*, in framing not only all later Writers, but some antient, yea the Holy Scriptures for their advantage: If you find you have mistaken the Protestants Doctrine, touching *invisibility*, your own also touching *uniformity* in matters of Faith: If you have been misinformed and too hasty of credit touching

ing the *imputations laid to the beginners of Reformation:* For as touching the *want of Succeſſion* and the *fabulous Ordination at the* Nags-head, I hope you will not be ſtiff, and perſiſt in your error, but confeſs and condemn it in your ſelf: If (as I began to ſay) you find theſe things to be thus; give glory to God, that hath heard your Prayer, entreating *direction in his holy Truth; and withhold not that truth of his in unrighteouſneſs.* Unto him that is able to reſtore and eſtabliſh you, yea to conſummate and perfect you according to his almighty power and unſpeakable goodneſs, toward his elect in Chriſt Jeſus, I do from my Heart commend you: and reſt you,

Your very loving Brother

in Chriſt Jeſu,

W. Bedell.

FINIS.

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